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THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED proceeds to shew the depressing effect which the increased demand for cotton in later years produced upon the agriculture of Virginia, and the stimulus it imparted to the rising value of Slaves. The whole of this portion of the chapter is highly interesting. He first dwells upon.

THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY.

"The Democratic system, so far as it was established by the Revolution, was limited in its scope to what had been previously the middle white class, and the aristocracy. Its first effect upon the latter I have shewn to have been disastrous, but upon the great mass its operation must have been elevating and encouraging. Even during this very same period of aristocratic dispersion, now known as the dark days of Virginia, because many flashing lights of her old gentry were then extinguished, I believe the condition of the major part of the people (leaving out of view, for the present, the slaves, and the politically debased whites), was steadily improving. There were more rising than falling men.

"Notwithstanding a constant emigration of the decayed families, and of the more enterprising of the poor, the population steadily augmented, though not so rapidly as in the adjoining more democratic States.* If the apparent wealth of the country was

not increasing, the foundation of a greater material prosperity was being laid, in the increase of the number of small, but intelligent proprietors, and in the constantly growing necessity to abandon tobacco, and substitute grains, or varied crops, as the staple productions of the country. The very circumstance that reduced the old pseudo-wealthy proprietors, was favourable to this change, and to the application of intelligence to a more profitable disposal of the remaining elements of wealth in the land.

"While multitudes abandoned their ancestral acres in despair, or were driven from them by the recoil of their fathers' inconsiderate expenditures, they were taken possession of by 'new men,' endowed with more hopefulness and energy, if not more intelligence than the old. Movement, though it be apparently downward, is evidence of life, and is stimulating to the mind. Every man who thought about it, saw that either tobacco must be given up, or its method of culture essentially modified, or that his land must continue to decrease in productive value. With the new proprietors this was a matter of more consequence than it had formerly been, because a larger proportion of their capital was now absorbed in the land they owned, proportionately to that in slaves. In an address of Mr. Madison, afterwards President of the Confederacy, before an Agricultural Society in Albemarle County, in 1819, the change then progressing in the economy of Virginia is thus alluded to:

"Whilst there was an abundance of fresh and fertile soil, it was the interest of the cultivator to spread his labour over as great a surface as possible. Land being cheap, and labour dear, and the land co-operating powerfully with the labour, it was profitable

* 1790 to 1810, population to sq. mile in
Virginia increased from 10·68 to 13·92
New York " 7·56 to 21·31
Pennsylvania " 9·28 to 17·30

to draw as much as possible from the land. Labour is now comparatively cheaper, and land dearer. It might be profitable, therefore, now, to contract the surface over which labour is spread, even if the soil retained its freshness and fertility. But this is not the case. Much of the fertile soils are exhausted, and unfertile soils are brought into cultivation; and both co-operating less with labour in producing the crop, it is necessary to consider how far labour can be profitably exerted on them: whether it ought not to be applied towards making them fertile, rather than in further impoverishing them; or whether it might not be more profitably applied to mechanical operations, or domestic manufactures.

"Among men of capital, intelligence, and social habits—for, without the stimulus of conversation or reading, improvements are accepted slowly—certain systematic methods of sustaining and improving landed estate began to prevail immediately after the second war. Tobacco was given up, or cultivated only in its proper turn of a rotation; artificial grasses were introduced, and, with the aid of gypsum, clover was made to grow upon the exhausted lands, and made use of as a green manure, to resuscitate them; ambulatory pens, shifted yearly from field to field, came into use upon large farms, instead of the stationary central stockyards, thus saving the great labour of hauling fodder and manure between them and distant fields, and doing away with the 'in and out-field' system. Cattle and horses were fed a much longer period of the year than formerly, and by some they were excluded from the tillage lands altogether, the growth of weeds and grasses having been found to be of more value to plow in as manure than to be pastured.

"Among American patriots of this period of our history should always be classed John Taylor, of Caroline County, Virginia, the author of *Arator*, and John S. Skinner, who, in 1819, commenced at Baltimore, in Maryland, the publication of the first special agricultural journal in America. Other men, many of whose names are enrolled among those of our national statesmen, were then united with them, in strenuous and concerted exertion, to give a better direction to the labour and agricultural capital of those States.

"The convalescence of Virginia agriculture, however, if convalescent it may be considered over to have been, should more especially be dated from the introduction of lime, as an application, in connection with better tillage, judicious rotations, and more frequent applications of dung and green crops, for the improvement of the land. And for this, Virginia is chiefly indebted to the study, experiments, preaching, and publications of Edmund Ruffin. Mr. Ruffin was, for many years, the editor of the *Virginia Farmers' Register*, but is best known as the author of *A Treatise on Calcareous Manures*, than which no work on a similar subject has ever been published in Europe or America based on more scientifically careful investigation, and trusty, personal experience, or of equal practical value to those for whose benefit it was designed.

"But, contemporaneously with the invigora-

tion of the planting class, the depression of the tobacco market, and the introduction of these improvements in agriculture which promised so much for the future of the State, there entered a still more potent element into the direction of her destiny. This was occasioned by the increasing profit and extending culture of cotton in the more Southern States, which gave rise to a demand for additional labour, increased the value of slaves, and, the African slave-trade having been declared piracy, led to a great extension of the internal slave-trade.

"The value of the cotton exported from the United States was:

	Dollars.
In 1794,	500,000
1800,	5,000,000
1810,	15,000,000
1820,	22,000,000
1830,	30,000,000
1840,	64,000,000
1850,	72,000,000

"Closely corresponding to the increase in the exportation of cotton, was the growth of the demand for labour; and as, in any slave-holding community, experience shews no other labour can be extensively made use of but that of slaves, the value of slaves *for sale* has steadily advanced in Virginia, with the extension of cotton fields over the lands conquered or purchased for that purpose of the Indians in Alabama and Florida; of France, in the valley of the Mississippi; and of Mexico, in Texas.*

"The effect of this demand for slaves was directly contrary to those influences which I have described as being the foundation of renewed agricultural energy in Virginia. It concentrated the interest of the planter in his slaves, as in old times it had been concentrated in tobacco; the improvement, or even the sustentation of the value of his lands became a matter of minor importance; the taste for improving husbandry, except among the men of leisure, capital, and highly-cultivated minds, was fatally checked. Mr. Ruffin, a gentleman of ultra, and, it seems to a stranger, fanatical devotion to the perpetuation of Slavery, yet otherwise a most sensible and reliable observer and thinker, unintentionally gives his evidence against the Slave Trade, by describing the effect of the increased value it gave to negroes:

"A gang of slaves on a farm will increase to four times their original number in thirty or forty years. If a farmer is only able to feed and maintain his slaves, their increase in value may double the whole of his capital originally invested in farming before he closes the term of an ordinary life. But few farms are able to support this increasing expense, and also furnish the necessary supplies to the family of the owner;

* That the people of California should have decided not to permit slaves to be sold also in that great acquisition to our territory, has been an intense disappointment to Virginia slave-holders; and the influence of the State, for some time after this was determined, was very undecided with regard to further schemes of annexation.

whence very many owners of large estates, in lands and negroes, are, throughout their lives, too poor to enjoy the comforts of life, or to incur the expenses necessary to improve their unprofitable farming. A man so situated may be said to be a slave to his own slaves. If the owner is industrious and frugal, he may be able to support the increasing numbers of his slaves, and to bequeath them undiminished to his children. But the income of few persons increases as fast as their slaves, and, if not, the consequence must be that some of them will be sold, that the others may be supported, and the sale of more is perhaps afterwards compelled to pay debts incurred in striving to put off that dreaded alternative. The slave at first almost starves his master, and at last is eaten by him—at least, he is exchanged for his value in food.*

"What a remarkable state of things is here pictured—the labour of a country almost exclusively applied to agriculture, and yet able to supply itself, but in few cases, with the coarsest food!

"The interest of the slaves' owners being withdrawn, by their increasing value as transferable property, from their land, a gradual but rapid amelioration of their condition followed, as respects physical comfort. Since 1820, there has been a constant improvement in this respect. They are now worked no harder, in general, than is supposed to be desirable to bring them into high muscular and vital condition; they are better fed, clothed, and sheltered, and the pliant strap and scientific paddle have been substituted, as instruments of discipline, for the scoring lash and bruising cudgel.*

"No similar progress, it is to be observed, has been made in the mental and moral economy of Slavery in Virginia; the laws and customs being a good deal less favourable than formerly to the education of the race, which is sufficiently explainable. The opinion being prevalent—and, I suppose, being well-founded—that negro property, as it increases in intelligence, decreases in security; as it becomes of greater value, and its security more important, more regard is naturally

paid to the means of suppressing its ambition and dwarfing its intellect.

"Of course, this increased care of the slaves' physical well-being adds to the current expenditure of their master, and makes all operations involving labour cost more than formerly; and, as its effect is to force more rapid breeding, and the number of slaves does not diminish, no corresponding encouragement is obtained from it for free-labour. Consequently, the internal Slave-trade makes the cost of labour greater, and its quality worse, precisely in proportion to its activity. This, as I pointed out in the last chapter, is the grand reason of the excessively low market value of all real estate, and has occasioned the slow and stingy application of capital to mining and other industrial enterprises, in all other elements for the success of which Virginia is so exceedingly rich.

"It was, for a long time, generally expected that the demand of the cotton-planters would gradually draw off all the slaves from Virginia, and that the State would thus be redeemed to freedom. The objection which had been chiefly urged against Jefferson's scheme of emancipation certainly would have had less weight, during thirty years past, against a requirement that all slaves below mature age, remaining, after a certain future time, in the State, should be educated, freed, and transported; for the owners, who could not afford to lose the value of their property, could at any time have sold away their slaves, at very much more than their cost price, before the requirement went into effect.

"It therefore became advisable to stigmatize such a proposition as tyrannical—to claim for a class the power of thus continuing to ruin the State, so long as they found in it their private profit, as a legal and vested right. On January 18, 1832, a Member of the Legislature, Mr. Gholson, proclaimed this, in the following cunning language. Be it observed that all existing nuisances, and those that are a part of them, are always called old-fashioned; which, oddly enough, under such circumstances, is considered equivalent to respectable.

"It has always (perhaps erroneously) been considered, by steady and old-fashioned people, that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profit, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, * * and the owner of female slaves to their increase. * * It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of the female slave, has her nursed and attended during the period of gestation, and raises the helpless infant offspring. The value of the property justifies the expense; and I do not hesitate to say, that in its increase consists much of our wealth."

"That is to say, no law providing for the freedom of unborn generations is to be considered just; consequently, Mr. Jefferson's scheme was agrarian and preposterous.

"The value of slaves for sale has, since then, pretty steadily advanced; the exportation has as steadily augmented; while the stock kept on hand is some three thousand more than it then was. The amiable letter-writer, whom the State of Jefferson now delights to honour, tells our simple New-York Democrats, that if they had not been so foolish as to favour the admission

* Hon. Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, in his defence of Mat. Ward, thus describes the strap:

"The strap, gentlemen, you are probably aware, is an instrument of refined modern torture, ordinarily used in whipping slaves. By the old system, the cow-hide—a severe punishment—cut and lacerated them so badly as to almost spoil their sale when brought to the lower markets. But this strap, I am told, is a vast improvement in the art of whipping negroes; and, it is said, that one of them may be punished by it within one inch of his life, and yet he will come out with no visible injury, and his skin will be as smooth and polished as a peeled onion!"

The paddle is a large, thin ferule of wood, in which many small holes are bored: when a blow is struck, these holes, from the rush and partial exhaustion of air in them, act like diminutive cups; and the continued application of the instrument has been described to me to produce precisely such a result as that attributed to the strap by Mr. M.

of California as a Free State,—if they had been able, as he desired, to force it to become a Slave State—it would have opened such a market for slaves as would have soon drained them all out of Virginia.

"I do not believe, if prime field-hands should ever sell for ten thousand dollars a head, there would be one negro less kept in Virginia than there is now, when they are worth but one thousand.

"How would this increasing demand be met, then?

"Very easily: by the re-importation of breeding slaves from the consuming States. Connecticut exports bullocks and barren cows by the thousand annually; and the drovers who take the working and fatted stock out, often drive back heifers from the districts in which the breeding of cattle is made less a matter of business, and is, therefore, less profitable than it is in that region of bleak pastures.

"It is an assertion often made, and generally credited, that it is only since the rise of the Abolition agitation that the people of the South have shewn a determined disposition to perpetuate Slavery—that in Virginia, especially, the people would ere this have abolished, or greatly modified it, if they had not been exasperated to folly by the calumnious and impertinent meddling in the matter of those who had no business with it.

"I have always, until recently, taken the truth of this assertion for granted; and have often, I am afraid somewhat foolishly, repeated it. No doubt there is a certain basis of truth in it; no doubt the abolition agitation in the Free States has been, and is in many respects, injudicious; but I am induced to think this charge against it requires to be made with some reservation and explanation.

"It certainly is a curious coincidence—and it can hardly be thought a mere coincidence, it seems to me—that the general indisposition to emancipate slaves has been very closely proportionate to the expense, or loss of cash property, which would attend it. If an accurate yearly price-current of slaves since the Revolution could be had, it would indicate the fluctuating probabilities of their general emancipation more exactly than the value of the English consolidated debt follows the varying prospects of peace or war.

"From the day in which Jefferson inaugurated the agitation for the emancipation of the slaves, up to 1820, the Abolition Party in Virginia, though it never succeeded in accomplishing the smallest of its legislative purposes, was strong in talent if not in number, and was in close fraternity and affiliation with the more successful party in the States now free.* At this time the internal slave-traffic was first recognised as a phenomena of pregnant importance; and Randolph and other Virginians lamented it, and deplored its probable consequences in Congress.

* Benjamin Franklin was President, and George Washington and Thomas Jefferson correspondents, of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania; of which Passmore Williamson, lately lying in jail in Philadelphia, is the present Secretary.

"There were then (1820) in Virginia no men of education and influence who were not slave-owners—and as such, pecuniarily interested, more or less, in restraining legislation unfavourable to Slavery. During the next fifteen years, the Southern demand for slaves, and, consequently, their value as stock, constantly increasing, there would appear to have been a struggle between the consciences and the interests, or between the selfishness and the good judgment, of those who had constituted the anti-slavery influence of the State. Gradually the older and more powerful opponents of the perpetuation of the system passed off the field of action, and the younger were induced to accept what they found so increasingly profitable—at least, to be quiet, and leave its determined supporters to govern and represent the State.

"In 1830, Daniel Webster said, in the Senate:

"I know full well that it is, and has been, the settled policy of some persons in the South, for years, to represent the people of the North as disposed to interfere with them in their own exclusive and peculiar concerns. This is a delicate and sensitive point in Southern feeling; and of late years it has always been touched, and generally with effect, whenever the object has been to unite the whole South against Northern men or Northern measures. This feeling, *always carefully kept alive*, and maintained at too intense a heat to admit discrimination or reflection, is a lever of great power in our political machine. It moves vast bodies, and gives to them one and the same direction. But it is without adequate cause, and the suspicion which exists is wholly groundless."

"Remember that slave property still grew daily less productive, but more valuable.

"Two years after the above declaration of Mr. Webster an important debate occurred in the Virginia Legislature with regard to Slavery. The Anti-Slavery Party may be said to have then made its last demonstration, and final protest, against the policy which now, far more distinctly than formerly, was defended and maintained as an established permanent policy: whether most from a spirit of resistance to an Abolition agitation at the North, or at home, or from the increasing value of slaves, the reader will judge.

"On that occasion (in the Virginia Legislature, in the city of Richmond, fifty-six years after the Declaration of Independence), there were still not wanting some men who saw the evil of Slavery, and the rights of slaveholders in the same light that Jefferson, and Madison, and Mason, and Monroe, and Henry, and all the real statesmen of Virginia had done, and who were brave and magnanimous enough to utter their convictions. Thus, one Mr. Faulkner used the following language, especially significant in the italicised passage, of what he considered to be then the real obstacle in the way of measures for emancipation:

"Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil. It is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labour—it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan, the manufacturer. It converts the energy of a community into indolence; its power into imbecility; its efficiency into weakness. Being thus injurious, have we not a right to

demand its extermination? *Shall society suffer, that the slaveholder may continue to gather his vigintial crop of human flesh? What is his mere pecuniary claim, compared with the great interests of the common weal? Must the country languish and die, that the slaveholder may flourish? Shall all interests be subservient to one? Have not the middle classes their rights—rights incompatible with the existence of Slavery?*

"MR. BRODNAX: 'That Slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew, which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries and other times might be instructive; but we have evidence nearer at hand, in the short histories of the different States of this great confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character.'

"MR. SUMMERS: 'Will gentlemen inform us when this subject will become less delicate—when it will be attended with fewer difficulties than at present—and at what period we shall be better enabled to meet them? Shall we be more adequate to the end proposed, after the resources of the State have been yet longer paralyzed by the withering, desolating influence of our present system? *Sir, every year's delay but augments the difficulties of this great business, and weakens our ability to compass it.*'"

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

IN a recent number of the *Reporter* we published a long letter from the foreign correspondent of the *Times*, on the subject of the emancipation of the serfs in Russia. It is a social question of as great importance as any that has occupied attention since the abolition of Slavery in our colonies, for it involves nothing less than the total overthrow of a system which forms the basis of the internal policy of a nation of seventy millions of souls, of whom twenty-five millions belong to the two great classes into which the serfs are divided. The question is not, by any means, a new one, for since 1601, when the first slender remissions in favour of this class were made, the subject has been again and again mooted, and various measures of a progressive character introduced, all tending to alleviate the condition of the serfs; but it was not until Alexander the First ascended the throne that any project of complete emancipation was entertained. The landowners, however, found means—as the slave-owners did in our country—to surround the question with innumerable difficulties, and to throw obstacles in the way, so that Alexander effected nothing more than the emancipation of the serfs in the three Russo-Germanic provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. The experiment was successful, but the Russian serf-owners proper, nevertheless,

succeeded in staving off the extension of the measure to the Russian provinces. Nicholas attempted something, and accomplished a little. He liberated the Crown serfs, and by an Imperial Ukase, issued in 1842, the serfs acquired the privilege of entering into contracts with their proprietors, in virtue of which they might emancipate themselves in the course of a given period. It was, in fact, a contract to purchase themselves for a certain price, to be paid either in money or in labour. The measure at present projected is far in advance of all the previous ones, for it contemplates the complete emancipation of all the serfs. The question is one of difficulty, and is extremely complicated. The emancipation of those attached to the soil is a comparatively easy matter, and a Moscow correspondent of *Le Nord* states that an important ukase has recently been issued, the effect of which is to preclude landed proprietors henceforth from converting their peasants into domestic serfs, whilst they are still to be empowered, as heretofore, to convert their domestic serfs into peasants. The Government is thus following up its idea of transforming the peasant serfs into peasant proprietors, which seems to it to be the most natural and the most rational solution of the question of serfdom.

The emancipation, however, of the numerous class of serfs attached, not to the glebe, but to the person of a master, is attended with greater difficulties, and to this day neither government nor nobility have come to any decision on the subject. The Government, by the decree referred to, is at least endeavouring to prevent this class from increasing; a measure equally just and opportune, and which, though falling short of completeness, is one which must be hailed as a great step in the right direction. It is stated that the Government has applied to the various mortgage banks and credit institutions of the country to obtain statistical returns of all the small estates belonging to the poorer class of nobility, having from five to twenty-five peasant serfs attached to them, and mortgaged to the credit banks. The object proposed is to disengage these peasants from the small estates, and to establish them upon the Crown lands. Should this plan be carried out, the small landed proprietors would be enabled to retain their lands, which are too limited in extent to allow any portion of them to be sold to clear off the incumbrances, while it would be difficult for the inferior class of landowners to find any means of subsistence if they were deprived of the cultivation of their own estates.

The question is occupying public attention in Russia to an extent of which we can scarcely form an idea, save by comparing what is transpiring there with the great discussions which preceded the Emancipation Act in this country. A new review, called

* Speeches delivered in the House of Delegates of Virginia, in relation to her coloured population, January, 1832. Richmond, printed by Thomas W. White.

the *Athenæum*, has been started in Moscow this year, in which a remarkable article on the subject has recently been published by a M. Tchitcherine. The proprietors of another periodical, called the *Causerie Russe*, have also undertaken the publication of a monthly review, to be exclusively devoted to the examination of the question. The prospectus they have issued invites the public to consider this review as neutral ground, on which all honest and loyal opinions may meet and frankly discuss the best means of accomplishing the grand reform now engaging the attention of the Russian nation. A M. Kocheleff is the editor.

In a letter from St. Petersburg, dated March the 21st ultimo, and published in *Le Nord* of the 1st April, we find it stated that a Committee had been instituted for the purpose of investigating and preparing plans for the emancipation of the serfs. Landowners in the service of the State at any other place than where their own property is situate, and who wished to attend the meetings of the nobles for the discussion of the emancipation project or the election of the Committee, had received leave of absence for two months without loss of the situations held by them, or any deduction from their salary. Any officials who might be elected members of the Committee of Emancipation were empowered to accept such mission without being compelled to resign office, no matter how long the labours of the Committee may last. The same regulations had been laid down for military officers on active service.

The Committee for the government of Nijni-Novogorod, which had been specially charged to consider plans of emancipation, held its first sitting on the 3d March, that being the anniversary of Alexander II.'s accession to the throne. General Mouravieff, the military governor of the province, made the following speech in opening the proceedings—a speech as remarkable for the sentiments it conveys, as for the assurance it seems to give that the great measure in contemplation will not long be delayed.

"Gentlemen,—In concert with the marshal of the nobles of this Government, the Committee summoned by the confidence of the Sovereign to discuss the measures requisite for improving the condition of the peasant-serfs dwelling on the lands of the nobles proceeds now to open its sittings. For this purpose has been selected, not the day previously fixed upon, but the anniversary of that monarch's ascension, whose reign is the dawn of our country's regeneration and renovation. Could we choose a more fortunate day for the commencement of these debates by an assembly in whom rests the hope of the Sovereign and the country—the hope of 25 millions of individuals, to whom it is now intended to restore those rights of civil existence and that dignity of men, of which they had been deprived?"

"Gentlemen, imbue yourselves with the spirit

of your mission. He who holds in His hand the hearts of kings has called you to accomplish a mighty work, to give freedom to those who do not possess it. And if such be your mission, think on the greatness of the part that Providence has assigned you here below. Be not unworthy of it; do not prefer your own material interests to the welfare of these millions of human beings whom their lot has made dependent upon you. Moral interests take precedence of material ones, and you ought to prove it by your acts. I said moral interests; yes, gentlemen, the solution of the question now occupying us will assuredly raise us to a higher degree of moral civilization: it will enhance the lustre and exalt the moral dignity of the class called to fulfil this work with a self-denial based on the consciousness of human rights.

"Amongst the people whose material existence we have to secure there is many an individual, who, content with his present position, desires no other. Glory and honour to the owners of such individuals! But their happiness is merely fortuitous. Now, gentlemen, you are called to substitute certainty for chance, and to remove from the administration which relates to an entire class of persons every thing of an arbitrary character. But success will not be obtained in this so long as we continue to see in man a mere productive power similar to that of animals in general: we shall only obtain success by resuscitating, or rather by restoring, the human dignity which had been stifled, and by invoking the assistance of free labour. It will be only then that an intelligent and equitable appeal, unaccompanied by any arbitrary requirement, will reawaken the living strength of the nation, and will infuse life into all that now appears to us to be dead.

"Do not separate, then, from your material calculations the respect due to the rights of man: render to man that which belongs to man, and you will justify the confidence of the Sovereign and the hope of the nation. I may say more—you will deserve the admiration of the whole world, whose eyes are fixed upon you at this moment. Your work will win for you the blessings of the Omnipotent and those of collective humanity, whilst history will rank you among the promoters of justice, among those who love their neighbours, and will name you as the founders of your country's prosperity."

COTTON CULTIVATION IN AFRICA.

THE following letter on the success which has attended Mr. Clegg's persevering efforts to promote the cultivation of cotton on the West Coast of Africa was recently addressed by that gentleman to Mr. M'Gregor Laird, the promoter of the new commercial expedition up the Niger. The facts are highly encouraging, and we sincerely trust they may induce other parties to follow Mr. Clegg's example.

"Manchester, March 18, 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"After several weeks' confinement, I went to business a few hours yesterday, and have just re-

turned from a similar attempt at work to-day; but my rheumatism has told me all day that I have again gone out too soon: this, therefore, must be my apology for not complying with your request sooner. It is not necessary for me to re-iterate what you must already have so often heard, but I may state that my operations in Africa were commenced, some seven or eight years ago, with the view of putting down the slave-trade by a new but very simple method, viz. convincing the native African chiefs and others that it was their interest to employ their people, instead of making war upon each other for the sake of getting a colourable right or pretext for selling into Slavery the prisoners taken in such marauding expeditions. I commenced at Sierra Leone, and strongly recommended every one to begin to collect the cotton already growing, and to cultivate more wherever it would grow. The *Church Missionary Society* kindly recommended agents to conduct the business, and in every way aided my efforts with the very great influence they so deservedly possess. The *African Native Agency Committee* of London kindly paid the agents their salaries, and the *African Improvement Society* of *Sierra Leone* put down an hydraulic packing-press, made by Messrs. Bellhouse, of Manchester, to pack such cotton as these agents and others might be able to purchase. Not being able to collect more than about 235 pounds of clean cotton during the first year, I found that *Sierra Leone* was not the right place at which to try the experiment, and at once decided to go direct to the interior cotton-field, and to the residence of the chiefs about *Abbeokuta*. In the meantime I discovered that all our European agents either died off or had to return to this country, and another long process had to be gone through, by which several more years were almost lost. The *Missionary Society* kindly selected several young Africans, who came over to this country at the expense of the *Native Agency Committee*, to be educated and instructed in the best method of cleaning the cotton without injury to the fibre. Two of these I had at my mill in the country for several years, where they also learnt to work as mechanics, carpenters, &c.: a third I had in my office in town as clerk, bookkeeper, &c. In the mean time another young African, who had been educated as a surgeon in England, took the matter up heartily, and conducted the various transactions until the two others from the mill returned to their own country. These three native African youths have since conducted the whole of my operations in a manner most creditable to themselves and their country. The *African Native Agency Committee* of London liberally supplied several packing-presses, a boat, weighing-machines, cotton stores, and other heavy articles, whilst I supplied cotton-gins, goods, and money to purchase the cotton with. *Consul Campbell*, of *Lagos*, seeing the great advantage likely to accrue to Africa from the energetic prosecution of the new trade, rendered every assistance; indeed he applied for, and has obtained leave from Government to come over to this country, and may be expected this spring to come down to Manchester—where I hope he will be my guest—with a view to further and promote these operations under the sanction of our Government. Up to the first of this month I had

sent out 157 cotton-gins, costing from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 10*l.* 10*s.* each. I have entered into correspondence with upwards of seventy-six native and other African traders—twenty-one or twenty-two of them being chiefs—many of whom have begun to consign their cotton, as well as other produce, to me; and I assure you it gives me the greatest pleasure to sell it for the highest price I can obtain, as well as to invest the money in any articles they may require, with the exception of spirits or the implements of war. In conducting this affair I have to venture, and have now outstanding, about 4693*l.*, every shilling of which I expect to receive back; indeed I have bills of lading, and advices of great quantities of cotton and other produce being on its way to me now, both on consignment and in liquidation of what is owing to me. I have had one transaction with one of these traders from which he received 3500*l.*; and it is both satisfactory and pleasing to know that every trader almost invariably takes back hardware, earthenware, cotton goods, or other merchandize for the whole amount of cotton or other produce sent here. Owing to two extensive fires at *Abbeokuta* I have not got quite as much cotton as I expected in 1857, but have had cotton advices and bills of lading for shipments from *Lagos* up to the 28th of December, as follows, viz.

	Bales.
Per <i>Candace</i>	46
<i>Gambia</i>	10
<i>Invincible</i>	34
<i>Token</i>	36
<i>Jarrow</i>	41
<i>Gambia</i>	116
<i>St. George</i>	81
<i>Powerful</i>	249
<i>Oscar</i>	37
<i>Saltern Rock</i>	245
<i>Propeller</i>	34

In the whole 929

Add to these 17 tons burnt in the first fire, and 3000*lbs.* to 4000*lbs.* in the second 321

Produced, or rather collected for sending to me, of usual size 1250

of African cotton. This quantity has therefore been purchased, and there has still always been plenty more offering on like terms, viz. ½*d.* per lb. in the seed. On this account the people of *Abbeokuta* cannot be made to believe that England can purchase all the cotton that they can produce, and yet *Abbeokuta* is but just on the border, at one corner I may say, of the great cotton-field of Western Africa, extending from *Abbeokuta* to the *Niger*, and away into the interior. Coupling my experience on this coast, the belief of the *Abbeokutans*, and the recent despatch of *Dr. Baikie* from the *Niger* to our Government, where he states that the *Rev. Mr. Clarke* had seen at *Ila*, near *Ilorin*, in the *Yoruba* country, fifteen or sixteen packages of clean cotton offered for sale, weighing seventy-five to eighty pounds each, and had been assured by the natives that on market-days (every fourth), from one to two thousand such bags were offered for sale, and this for their own country manufacture only: I say, coupling these statements with my operations,



what I know of Tunis and Natal, and what Dr. Livingston tells us of the East, I can clearly see a prospect of the slave-trade being entirely starved out; the tractable, docile, and intelligent African rising in the scale of civilization and Christianity in proportion as he is allowed to enjoy his own rights, stay in, till the land, and trade in his own native country, even if confined to the cultivation of cotton alone. You know, much better than I do, what Africa so abundantly produces besides cotton, such as palm and other oils, arrow-root, ground nuts, ivory, cayenne pepper, fruits, spices, gums, resins, dyes, dye-woods, &c. I should give a poor idea of the prospect of the cotton-trade by simply mentioning the commencement and recent operations connected with my own experiment; for, in all such cases, people first look on, and when they clearly see advantage, they also set to work: so it has been, and so I wish it to be, in Western Africa. One trader has ordered a good, serviceable English canoe, to convey the cotton, whilst he and another have ordered each a good new packing-press, at considerable expense; and as there are now at least four presses ready for work, and the natives are able of themselves to turn out ten bales daily from each press, they should turn out forty daily, or upwards of 12,000 annually with their present appliances. Three makers of cotton-gins at Manchester, through my and various other instrumentality, have sent out to Africa the following, viz.

Gins.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
C. 34 { capable of cleaning }	100 { daily, say }	80 { for safety, }	2720
D. 66 " "	100 " "	80 " "	5280
J. 150 " "	40 " "	40 " "	6000

250 { capable of continuously cleaning daily } 14,000
of clean cotton; 4,368,000 lbs. yearly; 10,000 American, or 40,000 African-sized bales of cotton. And as all these gins have been bought, and in most instances paid for on delivery, I believe they will not be allowed to be idle. This, I think, is a rare instance of rapid development of a particular trade, and the more so inasmuch, as in my case, every ounce of cotton has been collected, all the labour performed, and the responsibility of doing it borne by native Africans alone. I have many reasons for believing that the whole matter will prosper; first, I believe it has God's blessing upon it; next, Africa is naturally adapted for growing cotton, as everywhere it springs spontaneously, and is indigenous to the country; next, because wherever cotton will grow, the people cry out for the African to come and help them to cultivate it, shewing, in my opinion, that he is its natural cultivator also. Besides all this, I find that African cotton—whether from Quillmane on the East, Abbeokuta on the West, Tunis or Algeria on the North, or Natal in the South—that this cotton is the best substitute for American cotton. Indeed, from whatever part of Africa it comes, in its natural state, it will invariably fetch in the Liverpool market from 2d. to 3d. per pound more than East-India cotton under similar circumstances. For some years this cotton has never cost more than ½d. per pound in the seed, and at that price the agents, chiefs, and dealers

have never been able to buy up what has been offered; and this, I think, is a proof that it can be produced exceedingly cheap, sufficiently so to compete with any other country. It can be laid down in Liverpool in all ordinary times at about 4½d. per pound, viz.

Cost of it in the seed ½d. 4 lbs. to make one,	2
Cleaning 30 to 40 lbs. for 4d., say	½
Packing and canvas	½
Carriage and charges on board	½
Freight to England (too much by half)	1
Charges in England	½
	4½

Recently, however, the *Native Agency Committee* have begun to charge those who use their gins and pack in their store 1d. per pound, and those who do this will be at a little more expense; but as the cotton is still worth 7d. in Liverpool, and not long ago was worth 9d., there is yet profit sufficient to encourage all natives to embark in the trade. Believing first in the goodness of the cause, and next that to act entirely through the natives is the way not only further to develope, but most certainly the most sure way of making it progressive and lasting; also, having a dread that if Europeans took up the cultivation of cotton, or dealing in the interior, it would, in all probability, result in the revival of slave labour, or merely in a spasmodic effort or two, and then a sickening off, a failure, and relinquishing the effort, after destroying, in all probability, the self-reliance the native formerly had.

"On these grounds, then, I am anxious to raise at least 2040l. for four new cotton stations, and I hand you an estimate for them which has been prepared by one who knows Africa, and what is requisite, much better than I do. It is as follows, viz.

20 gins, at 5l. each	100
Press	90
Weighing machine	20
Shed, or native house	100
Wages for two natives, one year	100
Capital to trade with	100

Or, for each station . . . 510

I feel that I have not half done justice to this matter, and only regret that I have not been well enough either to do it better now, or attend to it earlier. I must, therefore, supplement the statement by sending a few of my letters to the public papers, leaving you to deal with the whole in any manner most likely to redound to the benefit of Africa and this particular movement.

"Yours, very truly,

(Signed) "THOMAS CLEGG."

"M'Gregor Laird, Esq."

AN ENGLISH SLAVE-CATCHER.

WE extract the following from a recent number of the *Liverpool Mercury*. We doubt whether the Editor's apology for Captain Doane will meet with acceptance at

the hands of his countrymen; and we may be permitted to question the sincerity of the Captain's "thorough detestation of slavery, and the vile traffic in human beings," of which he boasts. The slave-catchers in the United States, who, under the Fugitive Slave Law, surrender the unfortunates who are fleeing from Slavery, may also profess similar sentiments, and affect the same plea—respect for the law; but so long as they disregard the principles of humanity, and violate the "higher law," no one will believe their protestations. Captain Doane actually went 800 miles out of his way to oblige Messrs. Brown and Gall, the owners of the poor slave who sought a refuge under the British flag, the honour of which he has tarnished by this cowardly act. He is not the first Captain, on board of whose vessel runaways have stowed themselves; and in these cases also "every man on board" knew that the "poor fellows had made their escape" in their vessel. Captain Doane might, nay, ought to have risked the consequences of helping the stowaway-slave to liberty. It was not a question of calculation: it was one of simple humanity—of Christian charity. We do not envy Captain Doane's complacency of mind, after this act of cruelty; and we regret that the editor of the *Liverpool Mercury* should have inserted the slave-catching Captain's apology, without vindicating the national character for right doing in spite of consequences, and without holding him up to reprobation as an exception to what we are bold to assert is a general rule.

"AMERICAN SLAVERY.—The *Gertrude*, Captain Doane, reached the Mersey a few days ago from New Orleans. The master of the vessel would, no doubt, be much surprised to learn, on his arrival here, that he and his vessel had suddenly obtained great notoriety, and that, whether rightly or wrongly, much honest indignation had been excited at his proceedings. This arose from the fact, that in the underwriters' room a notice had been posted, and was afterwards copied into the *Mercury*, stating that, after proceeding 400 miles on her voyage, the *Gertrude* had put back to give again into bondage a poor runaway slave, who had managed to secrete himself on board the vessel. We were, on Wednesday, favoured with a call from Captain Doane, who feels anxious to give to the public the fullest explanation in reference to his conduct in this matter. We ought, perhaps, to state at first that Captain Doane is a British subject, being a native of St. John's, New Brunswick, and that he has as thorough a detestation of Slavery and the vile traffic in human beings as any man in Her Majesty's dominions. The stevedores employed to load the *Gertrude* at New Orleans were Messrs. Brown and Gale, and the unfortunate stowaway was the slave—a part of the goods and chattels—of these men. For three days before the vessel sailed for this port the negro was absent from his work. There was a coloured crew on board the *Gertrude*, and, it being suspected that the 'darkies' had assisted in stowing away the miss-

ing negro, the captain was informed of the circumstance. It was not, however, till the ship had proceeded 400 miles on her voyage to this port that the poor fellow, who was fleeing from his owners, made his appearance on deck. Under the circumstances the captain was placed in a most difficult position. The fact that the man was missing was well known at New Orleans, and every man on board the ship knew, of course, that the poor fellow had made his escape in the *Gertrude*. The captain was therefore at the mercy of any man who chose to inform against him, and the consequences, both to himself and his owners, were most serious. By the humane laws of the Slave States the captain of any vessel who carries away a slave is liable to be fined in the sum of 5000 dollars, and to be imprisoned for fifteen years! The penalty can be inflicted and the sentence of imprisonment passed upon him whenever he sets foot again in one of the Slave States; and should the vessel again enter one of the slave ports, she is liable to be confiscated. This explanation fully exonerates the captain from all blame. Even if he had himself been inclined to run the risk of fine and imprisonment, he had no right to endanger the property of his employers. The indignation of our countrymen must therefore be reserved, not for the captain, but for the atrocious system of which both the captain and the negro were the victims."

IMPERIAL DECREE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

ONE of the first acts of the late Emperor of the French, Napoleon the First, on his return from Elba, was to issue a decree for the abolition of the slave-trade. It may be not wholly uninteresting to publish a copy of it at this time, when his successor appears to be determined to promote the revival of the wicked traffic under the guise of "immigration" from Africa. We therefore append it.

"We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, have decreed and do decree as follows:—

"Article 1. From the date of publication of the present decree, the trade in negroes is abolished; no expedition shall be allowed for this commerce, neither in the ports of France, nor in those of our colonies.

"Art. 2. There shall not be introduced, to be sold in our colonies, any negro, the produce of this trade, whether French or foreign.

"Art. 3. Any infraction of this decree shall be punished by confiscation of the ship and cargo, which shall be pronounced by our courts and tribunals.

"Art. 4. However, the shipowners, who, before the publication of the present decree, shall have fitted out expeditions for the trade, may sell the produce in our colonies.

"Our Ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

"By the Emperor, the Minister and Secretary of State,

(Signed)

"THE DUKE OF BASSANO."

"Palace of the Tuileries,
"30th March, 1815."

ANTI-SLAVERY GOSSIP.

THE subjoined interesting extract is from the Boston correspondent of the *Morning Post*, dating thence March 2d ult.

"The contemplated emancipation of the serfs in Russia has naturally excited much attention here, and, coupled with the mortifying rebuff experienced by Mr. Meade, the United States Ambassador to Rio Janeiro (who, in presenting his credentials, assured His Majesty, Don Pedro, of the close affinity between the 'institutions' of both countries, and dilated upon the advantages each would reap from the possession of a fixed and deeply-rooted system of domestic servitude), has carried dismay to the hearts of the most ardent supporters of a system which soon the United States alone, of all civilized nations, will have to shew. In connection with this subject the following extract from a letter, recently received from a friend who is travelling in the Slave States, will be found of interest. Writing from Kentucky, he says: 'I have been much pleased with the conversation of a travelling companion, an old gentleman who owns some four thousand acres of land in Tennessee, and who adds to the advantage of a fine education that of extensive travel. He says that the chief productions of Tennessee, ranging them in the order of their importance, are as follow: First, Indian corn; second, wheat; third, cotton; fourth, hemp. And this man, a slaveholder himself, tells me Tennessee is *not* a cotton-growing State. It would be for the interests of her people to abandon Slavery, and to become free; for the rule that should govern this *vezata quæstio* is simply, that where white labour is impossible negro must be employed, and *vice versâ*. Now white men can labour with ease in Tennessee, and Slavery is far from "paying" in that State. Our population is almost stationary; immigration avoids us; the white labourers who come in search of employment refuse to eat and even to work in company with the "niggers;" and this leads to constant mismanagement and confusion. Let Tennessee but join the Free States and immigration will flow in, our lands will increase in value, and our productions be multiplied to an almost inconceivable extent. The State Government possesses many thousand acres of untilled lands, which it has successively offered to settlers or planters at 1 dollar, at 50c., at 25c., and for nothing, but in vain; the most productive soils in the world are not considered worth the taxes that would be levied upon them while our present system is in force.' My correspondent adds:—'Our friends on the other side of the Big Water would not believe these statements, unless they chance to have looked at Olmstead's work; but, with all these facts, you may rest assured that the first man who raises his voice in Tennessee for the purpose of giving her freedom (no matter how much of a benefactor he may be to the State), will fall a victim to the cause.'"

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, MAY, 1, 1858.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Freemasons' Hall during the present month, as soon after the 15th as the necessary arrangements can be completed. Due notice will be given to Subscribers.

The Right Honourable Lord Brougham has kindly consented to preside on this occasion.

THE JAMAICA IMMIGRATION BILL.

WE referred in our last to a Bill passed by the legislature of Jamaica, during the last session, for regulating the immigrant servitude. It appears to have been smuggled through the Legislative Assembly, rather than passed by it, for there was no report of the discussions that may be supposed to have taken place on the occasion, and probably very few persons in the island besides those who advocated the measure, and their friends, were even aware of its existence. We had prepared an elaborate analysis of this enactment, but circumstances have rendered its publication unnecessary. The measure itself was thoroughly objectionable; and greatly do we rejoice that timely notice was given us of it, and that we were thereby enabled to bring the subject before the Home Government, through Lord Brougham, the uncompromising friend of the negro, and of his descendants. That the objections to the proposed measure were well founded has been proved by the refusal of the Colonial Minister to present it for the Royal assent. Its disallowance on the specific ground of its containing clauses which tended to abridge the free action of the immigrants who may be imported into Jamaica is a great triumph over the party that would re-introduce a system of labour scarcely removed from actual slavery, and we trust the lesson will not be lost upon them. The Bill was antagonistic to freedom, and founded on an assumption. Labour is not wanted in Jamaica. We have abundant evidence to establish this fact, which we shall shortly publish. Let the proprietors of estates, who complain of the want of labour, but follow the example of their colleagues who make no such complaint, and we shall hear no more of this false cry; a cry which, if not met, and proved to be false, is likely to mislead the people and the Government of this kingdom, to cause the passing of enactments which will prove highly disastrous to the native population of Jamaica, and to retard the cause of emancipation in other countries.

THE KANSAS QUESTION.

THE position of Senator Douglas on this question is not very well understood in this country. It is known that he is leading the opposition on the admission of Kansas to the Union with the Lecompton Constitution: this is all. This "Lecompton Constitution" was framed by the pro-slavery party in Kansas, at a convention they assembled at that place, and contains a clause by which Slavery is established in the proposed new State. In this form it was submitted to the popular vote, instead of allowing the majority to determine, through the ballot-box, whether the new State should come into the Union as free or slave, and leaving the Constitution to be subsequently framed for Freedom or for Slavery accordingly. The vote was "for the Constitution with Slavery, or the Constitution without Slavery." The free-soil party abstained from voting, on the plea that the question had been illegally submitted. The consequence was, that the pro-slavery party had it all their own way; and, subsequently, President Buchanan declared in his message that the Lecompton Constitution was legal, because the anti-slavery men might have voted if they chose, but as they neglected this opportunity, and the convention was legally constituted, its acts must be considered binding on all; that it was not necessary to submit its work to popular approval, save on the one question of Slavery, and having submitted this, it had done all that was requisite. Under these circumstances, the motion for the admission of Kansas into the Union with the Lecompton or pro-slavery Constitution, was made, and on the point of the legality or illegality of the said Constitution the discussions have been protracted to a degree unprecedented in the annals of Congress. The Bill has passed through numerous stages. Amendments and counter-amendments have been alternately proposed and rejected, but the last phase in the discussion is, that the Senate has rejected the measure, and sent it back to the House of Representatives, so that the whole question will have to be gone over again. We intend, in our next issue, to give a chronological account of the various phases the discussion has assumed, for one more important has never occupied the attention of Congress. The Administration is literally on its trial on the issue of the non-extension of Slavery; and though Senator Douglas' defection from Mr. Buchanan cannot be regarded as an anti-slavery demonstration on his part, the incident is not without considerable significance, for it proves that even the pro-slavery party have a point of difference. It is, in fact, the thin edge of the wedge. It is a subject of much satisfaction, that among eight thousand Germans who now reside in Kansas, not one hundred belong to the pro-slavery

party: this vanguard of the army of freedom are prominent by their zeal and their energy for the good cause. Indeed, there appears to exist very little doubt but that Kansas must come in as a Free State. To return, however, to the point of difference between Senator Douglas, the author of the Nebraska-Kansas measure, and President Buchanan, we may say that Mr. Buchanan has expressed his belief that the right of the people of any State or Territory to decide on their own local government and laws is the only correct principle, and thinks it should be the invariable rule. Mr. Buchanan also believed that the Kansas-Nebraska Act conferred this right on the people of these territories, and that the Lecompton Convention would acknowledge it, and see that it was practically carried out by submitting whatever Constitution they might frame to a vote of the entire people. So far Mr. Buchanan and Senator Douglas were agreed. But it being asserted that, contrary to the general belief and expectation, the Lecompton Convention was not bound to submit, for popular ratification, any other portion of the Constitution than that relating to Slavery, and that it has not done so, Mr. Buchanan's duty as Federal Executive enjoins him to sustain the law as it exists. He alleges that the Lecompton Convention was legally free to act as it has done, and that, as a legal body, legally elected for a legal purpose, he is bound to sustain it so far as he has power to interfere or advise in the matter. It is on this point that Senator Douglas differs from the President. It is on the application of the principle, not on the principle itself, of popular sovereignty. He believes that the Kansas-Nebraska Act imposes on a Constitutional Convention the obligation to take the sense of the people on whatever Constitution they may frame, before Congress can listen to an application for the new State to come into the Union under that Constitution. He says, that in refusing, or rather omitting to do this, the Lecompton Convention has vitiated all its previous proceedings, and that it is no longer a legal body. In this opinion he is supported by what appears to be a minority so formidable that it may be regarded as a majority, even if be not absolutely one. It embraces the great Republican party, which comprises the political section of Abolitionists, known as free-soilers, whose last effort in favour of Colonel Fremont proved that they could number upwards of a million of votes, whereas, five years ago, they could muster only seven thousand. Admitting that it is not strictly Abolitionist, in the sense in which Abolitionism is understood amongst us, it is an encouraging symptom to see the ballot-box playing so important a part in the settlement of a question which threatens to de-

stroy the Union. The moral agitation accomplished much in this country to abolish Slavery in our colonies, but not until the representatives of the people felt the pressure at the hustings did they deem it incumbent upon them to take sides. In America, Slavery is essentially a political power, as well as a domestic institution, and therefore it must be destroyed as much by political means as by moral agitation. Of one thing our American Abolitionist friends may be certain. They have the hearty sympathy of the English nation, and we bid them to take heart and fight manfully.

WEST AFRICA.

ACCORDING to our Sierra-Leone files, dating from the 21st of January to the 10th of March inclusive, considerable uneasiness prevailed in the countries adjacent to Sierra Leone, the slaves held by the Sherbro, the Timnehs, and the Susus appearing to be on the point of rising and asserting their claims to liberty. A few months ago the chiefs at Magbeli decapitated some fifteen slaves who were the most prominent leaders of the excitement even then manifest. On all sides of the colony the slave population was in a ferment, which it was not probable would be allayed, unless the masters avert a calamity by a general emancipation.

Many deaths have occurred among the native chiefs. In noticing the record of their decease they are spoken of in terms which ought to put to shame the detractors of the negro race. Thus, Bey Kroo, King of Mabang, who was under treaty engagements with the colony, is referred to as having died in the beginning of January at a very advanced age—above ninety—"sound in body and mind to the last:" a telling rebuke this to the calumny-mongers who dispute the fact of the negroes possessing a mind at all. Yet this old monarch was a staunch adherent to the British rule, and in 1846, when the Susus were endeavouring to incite the Timnehs to join them in attacking the colony, he not only strongly opposed their attempts, but threatened with death any of his subjects who should join the Susus. It would not interest the general reader were we to give a detailed account of the various inter-tribal wars which it appears are still being prosecuted in the countries immediately bordering on the colony; but they are much to be regretted, as interposing the most serious obstacles to the development of native commerce, and the advancement of the people.

What, however, we must most deplore is, that the local Government should be setting the example of settling its differences with the African chiefs by the bloody arbitrament of the sword. It is not for us to take a partisan view of the cause of quarrel which has

armed the Government against the Susu chiefs of the Great Scarcies river—Bori Lahi and Sattan Lahi—but past transactions, not on the West Coast of Africa alone, in which the representatives of British authority have been at issue with the weaker race, inspire us with considerable doubts, first, as to the righteousness of the difference itself being on the side of the former; and, secondly, with yet more serious misgivings whether the punishment is not outrageously in excess of the alleged offence. On the 28th of January a small fleet of war-steamers, consisting of the *Vesuvius* (Commodore Wise's flag-ship), the *Spitfire*, *Pluto*, and *Ardent*, and a large Government iron barge, pulled by thirty-two oars, left the harbour of Sierra Leone, on a hostile expedition up the Great Scarcies river. It was under the direction of Colonel Hill, the Governor, but commanded by Commodore Wise. The alleged cause of quarrel is, that the two Susu chiefs above mentioned have invaded the territories of one of our allies, plundering and destroying the factories of some of our merchants in the Great Scarcies river, and also murdered a man named Robert Williams, a British subject, and refused to make any reparation, or give an explanation. About three months ago a steamer was sent up to the Scarcies to demand an explanation from these chiefs of their hostile proceedings, but with no satisfactory result, their conduct towards the messenger having been, it is said, haughty and almost insulting. In consequence of this unsatisfactory state of things, the Governor published a notice, intimating that it would be desirable for those who had property on the borders of the Scarcies to take steps for its removal, in order to prevent its being plundered or destroyed, and admonishing British subjects not to risk their persons amongst the tribes at variance with the Government. It appears that the circumstances of the case were transmitted to the Home-Government, and the Governor received full authority from the Colonial Office, "to take what steps he deemed necessary for the vindication of British honour, and the maintenance of British authority," and a similar communication was also sent to Commodore Wise; so that the Home Government would seem to have fully committed itself to a hostile course. On the receipt of his instructions, Governor Hill is said to have given the offending chiefs ten days to make the *amende*, but as they allowed the time to expire without taking any steps in the desired direction, Colonel Hill issued a second notice, to the effect that, "As it might be necessary for him, in vindication of British honour, to proceed to hostilities against the refractory chiefs," British subjects in the Scarcies must immediately secure their property, and

peaceable and well-disposed persons must remove themselves and their families from the locality threatened. On the 28th of January the expedition started. It reached the place where Bori Lahi resided on the following Saturday, the 30th, and a message was sent to the effect, that the Governor wished to see him and to settle matters peaceably. Bori Lahi returned for answer, that he should be glad to see the Governor on shore; that if he begged him to go away from Kambia he would do so; but if he drove him away he would return as soon as the Governor went back to Sierra Leone. The following morning (Sunday) the smaller boats of the expeditionary force advanced to a place called Robairay, and another message was sent to Bori Lahi, who replied, that Sattan Lahi not being at Kambia, he, Bori Lahi, could not act alone, but he would be glad to see Colonel Hill on shore. The Governor declined to go, and intimated that he should not wait any longer than eight o'clock on Monday morning. The eye-witness correspondent of the *The African* of the 11th of February proceeds to describe what followed. He says:

"Eight o'clock came, and no message from the chiefs: eleven o'clock, and still no message. The time having more than expired, and all efforts to settle affairs amicably having failed, the anchors were weighed, and the boats, well manned and armed, pulled up to Kambia, about a mile and a half from the anchorage. As soon as we appeared off the town the people began to collect in great numbers and move down to the edge of the river, where they concealed themselves amid the thick bush. The boats, as soon as they had taken up their respective positions, opened a tremendous fire of rockets, shells, and grape upon the town and the surrounding bush. In less than ten minutes the whole of Kambia was in a blaze. Having completely destroyed the place, we dropped down to Robairay. The natives were seen scampering off in all directions: none of them attempted to return our fire. As we were dropping down we heard the Timnehs, our allies, engaging the enemy with their land forces. This was according to previous agreement between us: we were to drive the Susus out with shot and shell from the boats, and the Timnehs were then to fall upon them by land.

"When we reached Robairay the boats were arranged in order, and we again opened fire. Robairay is larger than Kambia. So heavy was the storm of rockets, shot, and shell, that, in about fifteen minutes, there was hardly a house left standing. We saw none of the people: they had all fled before our arrival.

"After completing the destruction of Robairay, we proceeded further down the river. At some distance ahead of us we saw the *Teazer* aground. Near to where she was lying the natives, unknown to us, had congregated together in great numbers, and concealed themselves in the thick bush along the bank of the river. As we were passing they unexpectedly poured upon the boats

a tremendous volley of musketry. The barge in which the Governor was conspicuous received the heaviest of the enemy's fire. In a moment our boats rained a perfect tempest of shot and shell upon them, and in a very short time the bush was in a blaze. We have since learned that four of the enemy's principal chiefs were killed here, and a great number of the people. Having completely silenced the enemy, we pulled for the *Teazer* and dropped anchor. When she struck, it appears that the people sent word to all the neighbouring towns that a great ship was destroyed, and that they would now get plenty of iron without going to Sierra Leone for it. The natives were collected together in the bush opposite the vessel, and kept firing upon her, but a few shots soon silenced them. We got her off about eleven at night. After accomplishing this, we pulled down the river about half a mile, to Rocah Champee and anchored for the night. At ten on Tuesday morning we again weighed anchor, and, leaving the *Teazer*, the boats proceeded to Tah-wo-yah, the place where Lieutenant Campbell's boat was first fired upon the preceding evening, and we opened a heavy fire upon it. Our guns were then directed upon Funkmorrow, which had also attacked the boat. Some of the buildings not catching fire, notwithstanding all we could do, one of the gunners of the Commodore's ship volunteered to land and set them on fire. He did so, and returned in safety. We then dropped down to Romakankah, a very rocky part of the river, where the channel lies close to the bank. Here the natives had mustered in strong force. The Timnehs on the opposite bank came, men, women, and children, clapping their hands and shouting, 'Tenk'ee, white man,' 'tenk'ee, white man;' and they warned us to be careful in passing Romakankah on the opposite bank. As the *Teazer* was passing this place she was attacked, and when we came up with the boats they fired upon us too. Just as we reached the place a large alligator was seen lying upon a rock. The Governor took up his gun and fired at it. This startled the natives who were lying in ambush close by, and they immediately poured into us a heavy fire: we returned it in our usual style, which soon settled them. A little further down the river they again fired upon us from behind a stockade, but were soon driven out. As we passed Romangay we saw several women and children on the beach, so we did not fire upon them at all. We next reached Robat, where we had left the *Pluto* and *Spitfire*.

"At Robat we saw Bey Sherbro, Bey Fatamah, and Luminah Barmoi. They thanked the Governor for what he had done to their enemies, the Susus. They said, 'We are poor; we have nothing; we make you a present of Kambia and Carceary: take them, and put school there, and teach our children.' His Excellency told them that the British Government did not want an inch of their territory: they only wanted them to do right, and protect British subjects, and open their country for trade, &c. The British were their friends. Still they wished to give the places to the Queen. They left the ship that evening, and came on board again the following morning and shook hands with the Governor.

His Excellency again expressed the goodwill of the English towards them, and told them not to disturb British subjects, either white or black, for both were alike to the Government.

"On Wednesday, at eight A.M., we left Robat, and proceeded down towards the sea. The *Pluto* was some distance ahead. As she was passing Robyne the natives fired upon her, which she returned heavily. The boats came next, and were also attacked, and when the *Teazer* came up she poured in amongst them a tremendous broadside. We came down about two miles further, and were again fired upon from behind a stockade, which we soon cleared. Our friends the Timnehs again presented themselves upon the opposite bank, clapping, and shouting, and dancing with joy, thanking us most heartily for our services. On Thursday morning, the 4th February, we again joined the *Vesuvius* and *Ardent*, which were left at anchor off the bar, and His Excellency the Governor at once proceeded to Sierra Leone in the *Spitfire*, where he arrived about nine o'clock P.M. Commodore Wise returned with the other vessels on the following morning. *In the entire operations we had not a single man killed, and only four slightly wounded. The loss on the part of the enemy cannot be ascertained; but is supposed to be from 300 to 400. This however is only a conjecture.*"

Now we would call attention to the facts disclosed by this eye-witness. Four native towns utterly destroyed, and from 300 to 400 unfortunate persons killed, besides the wounded. At Kambia alone, 172 were killed, and 107 wounded. And what for? Who is to be the judge between the original parties to the quarrel? We think our countrymen will scarcely deem it to have been necessary to "vindicate British honour" at so heavy a sacrifice of life and property. A little time, considerable forbearance, and negotiation not carried on at the cannon's mouth, would probably have accomplished all that was sought; for it does not appear, that, after all, Governor Hill really succeeded in his object. The utmost that was hoped for, according to the *African* of the 4th of March, was, that "the terror produced upon the minds of the chiefs and people will eventually lead to the establishment of peace;" that is, to the establishment of that which the chiefs do not appear to have disturbed. It is said that, previous to leaving the river, he sent a message to the Susu chiefs, through a neutral chief, to the effect, that "he did not wish to prolong hostilities, but to cultivate friendly feeling. They had now seen that our boats could reach them, and it would therefore be much better for themselves to come to terms at once." We may doubt whether the mode the Governor adopted, to prove his wish to "cultivate friendly feeling," would be satisfactory to the chiefs. It appears to us that these sanguinary expeditions to revenge fancied or even real offences, savour of bullying, but may be regarded as one of the natural consequences

of conferring civil appointments on military men. We hope some inquiry will be made into this transaction, for there must be another side to the question. The *African*, a paper which is in the interest of the local Government, makes the following remarks upon the affair, but the editor's statement is only an *ex-parte* one. We should like to hear the chiefs' version of the cause of the quarrel Colonel Hill considered himself bound to espouse.

"Any thing that occurs to disturb the harmony of our relations with the neighbouring tribes is greatly to be regretted. The object of British colonization and rule in Africa is not the destruction of the people, but their preservation and elevation. War is an evil, a scourge, and a curse, which ought, wherever it can consistently with national safety and honour, to be avoided. No wise ruler will hastily plunge his people into war: he will first see that there is a sufficient cause; and even then he will not commence hostilities before every reasonable means in his power has been used to settle the dispute in a peaceable manner. In the present instance we have reason to believe that both these conditions are to be found. The murder of a British subject, the wanton destruction of British property, and the invasion of the territory of an ally, are surely sufficient grounds for hostilities. And for upwards of three months Bori Lahi and Sattan Lahi have had every opportunity for coming to terms with this Government upon those matters, but they have manifested no disposition whatever, as far as we have heard, to do so. Our Government had therefore but one course open to them—to commence hostilities."

SIERRA LEONE.

In our last two Numbers we called attention to the misgovernment of the Crown settlements on the West Coast of Africa, especially that of Sierra Leone. The mail of the 20th ult. brought in a copy of a petition, which the members comprising the *Mercantile Association of the City of Freetown*, in the aforesaid colony, had addressed to the Colonial Secretary, praying for representative institutions. We append this petition, which—notwithstanding its loose phraseology, somewhat uncharitably commented upon by the editor of the *African*—appears to us to be extremely to the point, while the moderation of its tone is deserving of all commendation. We consider it a healthy sign, that the Petitioners have had the moral courage to take the first step in a movement to emancipate themselves from political thralldom; and which, if only judiciously prosecuted, must ultimately result in the establishment of a form of government more in accordance with the spirit of the times and the requirements of the colony than the vicious form at present existing, and one that would exercise incalculable influence for good over the natives

of the adjacent countries. The institution of a self-governing colony of Afro-Englishmen would be a notable event in the history of Africa, and we sincerely hope to see the idea vigorously advocated. We shall lend our best efforts to promote its adoption.

"To the Right Honourable HENRY LABOUCHERE, M.P., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"The humble Petition of the Members comprising *The Mercantile Association* of the City of Freetown, in the Colony of Sierra Leone—

James P. Kidd,	William Johnson,
R. A. Oldfield,	Sybil Boyle,
Thomas Reader,	James Lewis,
Thomas A. Peters,	Stephen Bidwell,
Isaac B. Pratt,	George P. Bull,
Christopher Taylor	John Bright,
James Williams,	Lewis Nicol,
James M'Foy,	Henry Spilsbury,
William Lewis,	John S. Palmer,
R. V. Joaque,	Henry Lumpkin,
S. M. Cantor,	A. H. Farrah,
John Broadhurst,	Joseph Jarrett,
Nathaniel Isaacs,	Thomas Hughes,
William N. Lynch,	Thomas Jenkins,
William H. Pratt,	William Grant,
William Hair,	William E. Cole,
A. Dupigny,	William Cole,
William Quin,	James Sangster,
John E. Taylor,	J. G. Decker,
John Eziddio,	Charles Pine,
D. H. Davison,	Alex. Walker,
T. Rosenbush,	W. Drape,
G. Rousseau,	James Turner,
James Burnet,	M. M. Silva,
Allan Walker,	Peter Nicol,
T. Steinhause,	James Benjamin Cole,
James Frame,	George B. Lambert,
Henry C. Fox,	and
J. Macaulay,	Robert Peeler,

"SHEWETH,

"That your Petitioners beg to lay before you the present state of the Colony of Sierra Leone, to show the necessity that some amendment should be made in the form of Government, as it is now administered, as they consider it inadequate to the requirements of the greatly increased population, and also to the great advancement in the mercantile operations of the colony.

"Your Petitioners beg to say, that, since the transfer of the Colony to the British Government in 1808, by the 'Sierra-Leone Company,' now half a century, the colony has not been favoured with any more liberal form of Government administration than that allowed by the original Charter.

"Your Petitioners beg to state that from the above period the colony has increased very much in the number of its inhabitants, and also vastly increased in its imports from the mother country: the exports from the colony at present are above 180,000*l.*, as shewn by the Customs' returns; the real exports are much greater, amounting to nearly 300,000*l.* per annum. The imports from all places are about 150,000*l.* by Customs' returns, which returns would tally with the 180,000*l.* of

Customs' exports. Treasury bills and gold, not reported in the Customs, would form a large item towards making up 300,000*l.* in exports, while the cargoes of oil-seeds and timber, which are not reported in the Customs, would about make up the balance.

"Your Petitioners beg further to say that the importance of the colony has been much added to, from being the port of manumitting all persons captured in slave-trading vessels, and as such, is, to the lower class of natives, their only dependence for safety. Your Petitioners, many of them liberated Africans of long residence in the colony, have viewed with pleasure and gratification the increasing traffic of the colony with the neighbouring countries; they feel that a change is required in the present Colonial Administration, to meet the progress that is manifested in the colony.

"Your Petitioners, not wishing to be invidious in their remarks on any of the Colonial Governors, have, at the same time, to say that the interests of the colony have not unfrequently been jeopardized by the conduct of the head of the Administration, from acts of carelessness, recklessness, and also from apathy, the consequence of any one person having so much despotic power in his hands as the Governor of this small colony, and in having a Council composed of Government officials, whose interest it is to countenance the Governor in all acts, and whose duty it becomes, as a Government nominee, not to thwart his Excellency in any act, however oppressive or flagitious; and sometimes, in combined wisdom, pointing a Colonial act individually.

"Your Petitioners have seen with pleasure that Her Majesty's Government has granted to the sister settlement of Bathurst, River Gambia, a more liberal form of Government, inasmuch as the commercial body is more fully represented; the result of which has been the greater interest taken by the Colonial Government in the welfare of the mercantile community, as well as the greater respect shewn by the neighbouring nations to the power of the representative of Her Majesty; also the weight, in a moral way, exercised by the Government, in preventing the frequent recurrence of petty wars and loss of life among the people of the neighbouring chiefs. Your Petitioners regret to be obliged to make the contrast between the conduct of the natives surrounding the colonists in Bathurst, and that shewn by the natives of the neighbouring countries to Her Majesty's subjects immediately beyond the precincts of this colony, where British subjects are slaughtered with impunity, and property belonging to them and to other inhabitants of the colony plundered without any fear or regard of the moral weight of the Government of the colony—in fact they are not only not shewn common respect when any question comes to issue, but the moral power of the Government is treated with contempt.

"Your Petitioners beg further to say, that as they support the expense of the whole of the machinery of the Government of the colony, in paying all salaries of Government officials, the Governor only excepted, they are willing to pay the Governor's salary also, stipulating that the salaries of the officials may be reduced to a reasonable standard, in conformity to the duties of

office. The salaries and perquisites of some of the Government officers have much increased of late years, while it is well known that the health of the colony within the last ten years has not been worse than any of the colonies in the tropics, but is even more healthy than many of them.

"Your Petitioners are not inclined to animadvert on the legislation of the past or present Government, and wish to avoid making any comment on the acts of Colonial Governors; their only wish in framing this Petition is to shew the inadequacy of the form of Government to the wants of the present times. Your Petitioners are aware of the difficulties they labour under in presenting a Petition to the Home Government, which may be considered presumptuous, and they also know they are subject to the censorship of His Excellency, who has the privilege of giving to Petitions whatever colouring may suit him; but your Petitioners beg to observe that as they are the supporters of the expenses of the colony, they presume to be allowed a voice in matters of so vital importance to themselves, not only with regard to pecuniary matters, but also as a check on the excesses of the Administration in future.

"Your Petitioners, therefore, pray that a popular House of Assembly, such as exists in other colonies, should be granted them.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

"Signed on behalf of the Members comprising the Mercantile Association, in accordance with the original draft,

"J. P. KIDD, *Chairman*.

"WILLIAM DRAPE, *Secretary*.

"Freetown, Sierra Leone, Feb. 5, 1858."

Since the foregoing was in type, we have received further intelligence from the colony, and a copy of another Petition to the Home Government, signed by one hundred and twelve persons, not only praying for self-government, but bringing distinct charges of nepotism and abuse of power against more than one member of the local administration. We are given to understand that other Memorials are in progress, so that the movement is likely to command the serious attention of the Colonial Government.

We have also received the following letter from a gentleman well acquainted with the colony:

"MY DEAR SIR,—Permit me, as one of the negro family, to return you and all the British friends and advocates of the rights and claims of this race to a common humanity, a thousand thanks for, and to congratulate you and them upon, the recent and speedy triumph which British philanthropy has achieved, through the indomitable and veteran champion, Lord Brougham, in the cause of humanity, Christianity, civilization, and commerce on the West Coast of Africa. The result proves that the English heart, on the subject of Slavery, is perfectly sound. It proves that, though a certain London Journal may advocate the cause of mercenary and unscrupulous cliques, who plot a return to the enslavement and

consequent perpetual degradation of the African race under the fatal supposition of a declension or subsidence of British anti-slavery principle, they have found, as I trust they will ever find, the public sentiment of anti-slavery England true to its antecedents in a deep and utter abhorrence of the very name, not to mention the reality, of a system that dishonours God, and is a disgrace to human nature. It proves, moreover, that however plausible and specious the scheme for benefiting the negro by his removal from Africa may be made to appear, the motives will not fail to be detected and *appreciated*, and the necessary *quietus* administered. The negro has, with uncompensated toil, tilled the fields of the white man; has fed, and clothed, and maintained himself and family in luxury, and has enriched nations and individuals long enough. It is high time he should be respited—that England should, to compensate her original share in the guilt of his spoliation, build up in Africa an independent NEGRO NATIONALITY, to the end that the African race may take rank among the nations of the earth. Africa will continue to be the prey of all nations until she is placed in a condition to inspire her with self-respect. This is only to be effectually accomplished by erecting the whole country into one entire independent sovereignty. This will inspire the negro with self-respect, re-invest him with the dignity of human nature, and enable him to command respect of those nations whose subjects now visit his shores as oppressors and man-stealers.

"But to return to the recent achievement and cause of congratulation. Those twin measures, the first of which, the West-India Bill, to which Her Majesty's sanction was so confidently relied on, and the enlistment for war-purposes in India of the chief industrial arm of West Africa—the Kroos—have met a prompt and merited death. The recent triumphs of African exploration from various points, and those now set on foot through the auspices of the British Government, will immortalize the names of Barth and Overweg, d'Escuriac, Livingstone, and others, advance the cause of science, and open up the hitherto *terra incognita* to commerce, through which untold material wealth will be poured into the lap of Christendom by the exchange of the products of human industry. Those busy hives of industry, Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast Settlements, Lagos, Abbeokuta, Fernando Po, Bonny, Calabar, the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Mozambique, and last, though not least, the hopeful results that must ensue from communication with the inlying countries through the medium of the Zambesi exploration, will contribute their share. It is to be hoped, then, that *all* untoward attempts, tending so fatally to unsettle so glorious a future for Africa as is the success, thus far, of the anti-slavery people of England, whose noble mission has for long, long years been the regeneration of Africa, will be equally foiled. In connexion with this subject, it is most devoutly to be prayed for, and every legitimate effort used therefor, to effect the discontinuance of the French Immigration scheme. This scheme is most justly regarded by all men of African experience, as most *practically* damaging by those who are

labouring to build up a nationality for Africa, and who have made immense sacrifices to inaugurate the present industrial elements in that country as the slave-trade in disguise. In illustration of this may be cited the speech of the Earl of Clarendon, in the House of Lords (1857), embodying statistics from Mr. Consul Campbell's dispatches respecting the trade of Lagos alone. In consideration, then, of the disastrous and paralyzing effects upon the trade and general welfare of Africa, not to mention its extensively demoralizing tendencies, it is to be hoped that His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking an early and comprehensive view of the circumstances desiderated, will signalize his reign by an act of humanity that will, in spirit and in deed, square so gracefully and magnanimously with the recent acts of British justice adverted to.

"Great, however, as has been the efforts of England in suppressing the slave-trade, and establishing settlements on the West Coast of Africa, her short-comings in respect of providing and ensuring a proper administration of justice among the subjects over which she holds sway in that quarter of her empire are manifestly lamentable; and the consequence is, that a state of things crying for immediate and sweeping reforms is a scandal to the British Government. The evils that have ensued from misgovernment and corrupt officialism are legion. The sooner a searching and thorough investigation is instituted into the abominations existing throughout the various localities, the sooner will a prescriptive power of official oppression be wrested from the oppressor, the sooner will a tangled web of official infamy be disentangled that will ultimately defy disentanglement, and the sooner will private wrongs, through the unparalleled injustice and cruelty that have been perpetrated, be remedied.

"Painful as must be the contemplation of a state of things of so unpromising a character in a country where, above all others, the negro family might be expected to be permitted to sit under their own vine, with none to molest and make them afraid; it is, nevertheless, cheering to the philanthropist and the Christian to see that, at last, public attention, as also that of the Home Government, seems to be fairly attracted to these hotbeds of official iniquity; more glaringly conspicuous among which, in administrative atrociousness, is that of Sierra Leone. The *Daily News*, *Morning Star*, *Examiner*, the *Colonial Intelligencer*, and the *Reporter*, have spoken out in terms of unmistakeable disapprobation of proceedings which compromise so disparagingly the anti-slavery labours of the past, and reflect so invidiously upon negro capacity for self-government; the fact being always forgotten, by the advocate of negro-slavery and debasement, that he has no voice in the laws which govern him, in the Crown colonies, and that he is corrupted by the demoralization of his rulers.

"Great encouragement and hope have also been inspired by the humane interposition of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, which, shocked by the recitals of numerous instances of oppression and cruelty, have raised its voice in behalf of suffering humanity against the iron heel of the oppressor. They contend for a radical reformation of existing evils, and redress to the injured.

They advise the amendment of the charter of justice by the infusion of a popular element; the entire abrogation of tyrannical ordinances; and the removal and punishment of the violators of British law.

"Alas, Sir, how more than grateful will be the inhabitants of the entire coast to the noble-hearted philanthropists of England who have stood forward to plead their cause! How will the glad shout ascend from earth to heaven when they learn the strange but true intelligence that there is *hope of relief*—that the hour draws nigh that gives them liberty—that a new Secretary of State for the Colonies is clothed not only with power, but has the humanity to hear their cries, and also the moral courage to redress their wrongs,—one who, in Lord Stanley, has, at the instance of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, pledged himself in the following language: 'With regard to the abuses alleged to exist in the government of Sierra Leone, as his attention had only then been directed to the subject, he could not say much upon it; but he would promise to inquire into it, and to make himself acquainted with all the facts of the case.' And, with regard to the Hudson's-Bay Question, his Lordship was pleased to say: 'When settlers in any of our colonies are unjustly treated they can find means to make their grievances heard, but this was not the case with uncivilized races subject to our rule; hence, he was happy to receive a deputation from an *Aborigines' Protection Society*.'

"Now, if Lord Stanley, in his humane regard to the rights of the Aborigines of the Hudson's-Bay territory, if such be the helpless condition of a people contiguous to the British North-American colonies, which possess institutions of a more popular character than even the mother country, how much more crying requisite is it for the British people, who have such a deep stake in those great principles which emancipated the negro from thralldom in the British West Indies, who seek to abolish the slave-trade, and likewise, by continual efforts to promote every enterprise for the civilization of Africa, that the rights of their fellow subjects in Africa be looked to? But how is this object to be accomplished, if the present state of the administration of justice, which has existed ever since the transference by the Sierra-Leone Company to the Crown, be permitted? A state of things arising entirely from the indiscriminate appointments of the Colonial-office of men who have no interest in the welfare of Africa, who revel in the grossest acts of nepotism and oppression, and who, to use their own language, having no interest in the welfare of Africa, go to the colony for what they can 'bag.' I have been a resident of various settlements on the West Coast for upwards of a quarter of a century, and consequently have been an eye-witness of acts perfectly scandalous to any administration of justice—acts perpetrated in conscious security of exemption from amenability. If only a few cases of misrule come to the light in England, through the complainants being more favourably situated for the obtaining of a hearing, how many are outraged who, from intimidation and various other causes, cannot make their wrongs heard? For example, even should any one have the spirit to complain to the Home Government against official misconduct, their letter must be

forwarded through the Governor; if the party complained against is a favourite, the modes resorted to to defeat the object of the injured party are so various, that great space is requisite to detail them. The usual course, however, is, that the Governor, if he is not in a situation to shuffle the applicant in some sinister way, delays forwarding his despatch to the Colonial-office. If he cannot succeed in this, he 'shelves' the despatch until, at some future time, when the complainant, burning under his wrongs, is stimulated to inquire respecting his 'case.' He is then met with an 'Oh! the Governor has been so busy that he has not been able to attend to your matter, but will by the next packet.' *Perhaps* by the next packet he does, but with a commentary so damaging that the complainant seldom or never hears any further of his letter, the result being that the whole affair is 'shelved' at the Colonial-office. Thus is 'disaffection sown broadcast among Her Majesty's subjects in West Africa,' than whom there are none more loyal in the whole British Empire. Governor Kennedy, in the Blue Book (1854) testifies to this, as also to the peaceable and industrious habits of the settlers of Sierra Leone; that in no part of England is the Sabbath so religiously observed; that he governed, with remarkable ease, 68,000 liberated Africans with the small constabulary force of 75 men!

"Encouraged by your remarks, Sir, in the April Number of the *Reporter*, to the effect that "the attention which is now being paid to that quarter of the world, invests with peculiar interest every circumstance connected with the administration of affairs along the whole line of coast, &c., I propose to return to this subject again and again. In concluding this letter, however, I beg to note, for the present, the following specimens of misrule, against the perpetual inflictions of which there has hitherto been no successful appeal.

"It has been humorously remarked by the Gold Coast correspondent of the *New Era* newspaper (which Governor Hill has crushed by an arbitrary stretch of power), that 'military officers had been put into every civil office in that locality, save that of Colonial Chaplain'—it being the practice, for example, for a subordinate military officer to fill the office of Chief Justice of the Civil Courts! Among the legitimate results of such anomalous and ridiculous proceedings, are just what might be expected—gross partiality where military officers are concerned; as a case, among many of recent occurrence, will prove. It was a case of gambling, which, though it transpired in the castle—the same where the remains of poor L. E. L. lie—the *mode* of gaming, and the cheat which was practised, find their parallel only in the haunts of the vilest characters of London. Bets were made and sovereigns freely staked upon the result of the game. A spectator, a friend of the victim of the cheat, declared that he several times 'distinctly saw' Officer — keep the coin, by a manœuvre, perpendicularly, and that he only brought it horizontally upon the table after 'heads' or 'tails' was cried, and that being the case, he, as a matter of course, invariably won. The result was, that after ruffianly fist-cuffs and a bandying of Billingsgate epithets, more befitting the bagnio than Her Majesty's fortress, an action for libel was brought

against the accuser. The trial was characterized by the most scandalous perversions of justice, and the blackleg military officer came off victorious.

"But the affair did not end with the decision of the civil tribunal. A bitter and protracted personal controversy arose from the natural dissatisfaction which the 'decision' occasioned. A military inquiry into the circumstances was demanded, and a court-martial was instituted at Sierra Leone, under Governor Hill, the senior officer in command. Like all Boards of Inquiry on the coast, civil and military, however, the result was *nil*: the matters at issue were in the very teeth of an independent public sentiment, as expressed through the press, and in a variety of ways, demanding a searching investigation and publicity of the proceedings. The high functionaries in their military-civic omnipotence returned to British Accra consolidated in their quondam powers, thoroughly whitewashed by the irresponsible feat of Gubernatorial supremacy.

"But this is not all. An investigation into the general, not to say, universal administration of justice, under Governor Hill's rule, at the Gold Coast as at Sierra Leone, will prove that the present state of things is, to use the language of an eminent British merchant, 'rotten to the very core.' Witness, for an instance, the non-accountability for the enormous impost levied upon *native foreigners* for specific purposes, the perfidious non-fulfilment of the covenant, the vindictive and sanguinary bombardment of Christiansborg for refusing to continue the payment of this scandalous imposition.

"Again, let us take another case, at Her Majesty's settlement of Bathurst, on the Gambia, as illustrating the precious examples that are being perpetually held up to the liberated Africans to shape their morality by. Recently the agent of a London house, very extensively engaged in commerce from that port to Macarthy's Island—in fact, throughout all the ramifications of trade over the Archipelago extending to Bissao and the Rio Grande—charged the collector of the Gambia with not only a fraud upon the house of his principal, but with embezzlement of the Queen's revenue. The agent, Mr. Selby, not only promulgated the charge throughout the immediate neighbourhood, but published his accusation in the *New Era*, and actually impeached the delinquent before the then Minister of the Colonies, with no effectual result, however, more than the usual thorough whitewashing. There was, however, the result which, *pari passu*, was quite natural. Irresponsibility begets impunity and immunity from punishment, and stimulates the commission of crime. Evil doers get, at last, to think that they have a prescriptive right not only to oppress and plunder Her Majesty's subjects of their substance, but that they may likewise rob the property of Her Majesty herself. But where is this collector now? Echo answers where? The most intelligible account of his whereabouts is, that he is *nowhere*—certainly not at his post at the Gambia. A gentleman of high position informed me, a few days since, that this precious official, subsequent to the charge brought against him, which is adverted to, repeated acts of that particular character so often, that ultimately, through the fear of detection and retribution, he fled the colony. I need not say that had

timely steps been taken to remove and punish this man, the ends of justice would have been subserved, official dishonesty checked, the rights of the trading community vindicated, and a scandal to the local and home Governments prevented.

"These instances of facts, occurring almost simultaneously at two British settlements remotely situated from each other on the same coast, exemplify what sort of precedents those who are appointed to carry on the Queen's Government furnish the liberated Africans as a rule of conduct. Further, to quote from the *Reporter*, in its remarks upon the misdoings of officials on the coast of Africa (April 1858, p. 57), such conduct demonstrates how just are the strictures to the effect, that 'A young nation cannot be oppressed and complain hopelessly, or suffer despairingly without detriment to his energies. Bad government produces bad subjects, and results perniciously upon the moral character of the governed, predisposing them to intrigue and petty tyranny, and undermining those principles of uprightness and honest dealing which lie at the base equally of sound government as of the happiness of a people.'

"I am, &c.,

"J. R. D."

ALGERIA AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

For some years now the Government of Algeria has persistently striven to establish a direct and constant intercourse with Central Africa, and with this view has sought to conciliate the Tuaric population inhabiting the region intermediate. These tribes occupy the space comprised between the Equator, and the 15° of latitude N., and number some two hundred thousand souls; an extremely sparse population for so vast an area. Each tribe has a chief, and the union of the several tribes constitutes two grand confederations, one consisting of twenty-eight tribes, the other of thirty-six, each section having its own chief. They are named respectively, the Azguer and the Hoggar. These Tuaric tribes are further divided into two classes, called noble (*thoggar*) or common (*immerod*), the confederation of the Azguer numbering eleven noble tribes and seventeen common, and the Hoggar fifteen of the first, and twenty-one of the second class. It is evident that the Tuarics are, by their geographical position, masters of the highways by which the products of Northern Africa must pass to be exchanged for those of the South. These highways are four in number. One unites Bornu and the countries bordering on lake Tchad with the capital of Fezzan; the second, which runs near Alar, terminates to the east of Soudan; the third lies between R'at and Timbuctoo; and the fourth unites the latter city and Tafilat, and is the high road into Morocco.

Although the commodities which constitute the trade on these roads are pretty much the same, each has more or less a speciality. Thus, on the first the great sales

of ivory take place; on the second, SLAVES; on the third, gold dust, which Timbuctoo supplies in abundance. In exchange, the dealers take glass beads, silk tissues, and cotton goods, cachemeres, spices, copper, and hardware, which find a ready sale in the interior of Africa, and which leave a large profit. Our French neighbours calculate that, under advantageous circumstances, the trade with Central Africa would be worth sixty millions of francs annually, or upwards of two millions sterling, the bulk of which would consist of actual barter. One serious obstacle to its development exists, namely, that slaves constitute the chief article of exchange or sale; and as dealing in slaves is prohibited by the French Government, there is no demand for them, and therefore no opening for the disposal of French goods in return.

The *Annales d'Afrique* for January and February last contains an article on this subject, which we have condensed as above, for the instruction of our readers, to whom no fact connected with the development of African commerce can be uninteresting. But we have another reason for calling their attention to it, as affording a further illustration of the mischievous effect of the French immigration scheme, to which such frequent reference has been made in our columns. The editor of the journal in question, referring to the obstacle which the traffic in slaves presents to the extension of trade with the interior, comments as follows upon the subject:

"But this is a very trifling difficulty. The Government which has given to a Marseilles firm permission to introduce negro immigrants into the colonies, cannot refuse a similar favour, to the traders who would engage in the branches of commerce carried on by the caravans. Algiers needs labourers for her public works and the development of her agricultural resources, and offers a desirable asylum for the negroes who would be, and who indeed are at this time, sold as slaves. All parties would be gainers by such an arrangement. We may therefore hope that French commerce will ultimately find an issue in this direction."

Now we contend, that if this proposition should be carried out, it will lead to the most disastrous results. Disguise it as we may, it is nothing but a suggestion for opening a new slave-trade. What has already happened on the West Coast of Africa, will assuredly occur in the North. A demand for the article, man, will be responded to by a supply of it. The slaves on hand will be sold first, and, to obtain men, fresh slave-hunts will take place. Thus, between the Boers in the South, the regular slave-traders and the "immigrant" merchants on the West and the East, the Turkish purveyors for the marts of Constantinople, and the Algerian speculators in the North, the whole of the African continent seems likely to be converted into one enormous hunting-ground for negroes, if the

most vigorous efforts are not made to direct public opinion against the prosecution of this nefarious scheme.

ENLISTMENT OF NEGROES.

THERE appears to have arisen of late a general conspiracy against the negro. We have the French prosecuting on the West Coast of Africa an enterprise which is nothing but a new slave-trade, and which there is a question of extending to the North. On the East they are conveying negroes to the island of Bourbon, ostensibly as immigrants, but in reality as slaves, for as such they are purchased; and as fast as one lot is shipped another is obtained to supply its place. The Americans are advocating the re-opening of the slave-trade; the Spaniards are carrying it on with impunity to Cuba; the West-Indian party in this country are advocating "immigration treaties" with the African chiefs; and, to cap the climax, we find our own Government proposing to enlist negroes to fight our unholy battles in the East Indies. The following is a summary of what has taken place in Parliament on this subject since our last.

On the 13th ult. Mr. Lowe moved for returns relating to the enlistment of negroes for the Indian service. On the 22d of the previous month Lord Brougham had already brought the matter under the notice of the House of which he is so distinguished a member. A report had reached him that two officers in the East-India Company's service were about to be despatched to the coast of Africa to enlist negroes for service in India, and he asked for information, considering that such a project was likely to renew the slave-trade. The Earl of Derby and the Under Secretary-at-War both assured him nothing of the kind was contemplated, and Lord Brougham was satisfied. But on the very next evening the President of the Board of Control, taking no notice whatever of what had already transpired on the subject, stated that it had been the intention of Her Majesty's Government to despatch two officers to the West Coast of Africa, by a steamer that was to have started that very evening, for the purpose of enlisting Kroomen to serve in the vessels and flotillas at the mouths of the rivers Ganges and Irrawaddy, as a sort of preparation for serving as light troops in Her Majesty's army. Now, be it said, sending men to sea by way of preparing them to serve as light troops is very like putting a soldier on horseback by way of preparing him to march. The President of the Board of Control proceeded to say that he found some difficulty occurred in the matter, the Mutiny Bill for the United Kingdom having already passed through some of its stages. That Bill, he said, would require some alteration to enable the Government to enlist these Kroomen for Indian service. He added

that he had corresponded with the Secretary-at-War on the subject, and, as it was too late to make the necessary amendment in the Mutiny Bill, the plan was abandoned. Mr. Lowe said he would offer no objection on the fact that the noble Lord had not communicated his intention of taking such a step to his colleagues, but still it was fitting that the House of Commons should be favoured with the confidence he had withheld from his colleagues, and should know what the precise instructions of these officers were, in order that they might judge whether proper precautions had been taken to prevent this proposed enlistment degenerating into a species of slave-trade. He hoped there would be no objection to lay on the table copies of these instructions, which must have been prepared, as they were only countermanded the day before the mail sailed. He hoped, too, that some information would be given as to the precautions which had been taken to ensure that these Kroomen who were to be enlisted were genuine Kroomen, offering themselves voluntarily, and not prisoners of war sold by the chiefs on the coast. He should also wish to know what clause of the Mutiny Act would have required alteration to enable this proposition to be carried out, for he was totally unable to understand what the Mutiny Act could have to do with it. Undoubtedly, if these men were to be enlisted for the service of Her Majesty in the United Kingdom some alteration would be necessary, as it was passed annually; but if they were to be engaged in the naval service of the Crown anywhere, then, as the Naval Mutiny Act was passed once for all, no alteration would be required. The East-India Company's Mutiny Act, too, was passed once for all, and no alteration would be needed in it if these men had been for their service. Moreover, he could not see how it was impossible to alter the Mutiny Act at that time, as had been stated. It stood then for a third reading, and it would have been quite possible to re-commit it, and then introduce the necessary alteration. The speaker concluded by moving an address for a copy of all instructions for the engagement of natives of Africa in the Indian service, and a return of the alterations in the annual Mutiny Act which such engagement would render necessary.

Mr. Baillie said the Mutiny Act gave authority to enlist and attest recruits in different parts of the world for Her Majesty's service, but it gave no such authority to the East-India Company; and the alteration, if it could have been made, would have been to give this power to the East-India Company. As regarded the instructions, it would be impossible to understand them without having all the papers relating to the matter; and he should therefore move, as an addition to the right hon. gentleman's motion, for copies of all letters received from Mr. Spence relative

to the enlistment of Kroomen; of the memorandum of an interview between the Directors of the East-India Company and Mr. Spence; and of all subsequent correspondence on the subject, and for the memorandum of the amendment required in the Mutiny Act to enable the East-India Company to enlist recruits in the same manner as Her Majesty.

Lord Palmerston agreed in the opinion entertained by Her Majesty's Government that it would have been desirable to enlist a negro force for employment in India. He believed it would have been an expedient arrangement, and knew that this was the opinion of the Governor-General. Negroes would be exceedingly useful: they would stand the climate better than Europeans, and would be free from those objections which applied to native Indian troops in respect to peculiar feelings of caste. The difficulty was, how to raise a black force without giving any indirect encouragement to a renewal of the slave-trade; and he presumed that was the view taken by the Government. He did not know that it was likely we should have been able to obtain any efficient troops from that coast, for these Kroomen were generally seafaring men, unwilling to engage for more than a temporary absence from home, and would not be likely to engage for service in India. He implied no objection to the principle of raising black troops for India if proper means were taken for that purpose; but in raising such a force great care should be taken that no means were employed which would have the effect of indirectly renewing the slave-trade.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he could not pretend to give any opinion on the capabilities of the Kroomen, because accounts were unfortunately very much opposed to each other. Some said they were perfectly willing to quit their country for any length of time; others, that they could be relied on only for a very brief period. But however desirous Government might be to raise a black force for service in India, they should avoid every thing which could in the slightest degree have the appearance even of renewing that slave-trade which this country has made such immense sacrifices to put down.

General Thompson ridiculed the idea of converting Kroomen into a rifle-brigade, and gave some amusing instances of their unfitness for military service. He believed the parties who had recommended them wanted to pass a joke upon the Government. He was followed by Mr. Lowe in reply, who withdrew his original motion, and the amendment of the Secretary to the Board of Control was agreed to.

From this discussion it would appear that Her Majesty's Government have not given up the idea of enlisting Kroomen into the British naval and military service, but

merely suspended their design in consequence of the difficulty presented by the Mutiny Act. We await the production of the returns moved for, to learn what precautionary instructions the two officers received who were to have proceeded to the coast; for we feel persuaded that none that could be framed, however stringent, would prevent this demand for men from degenerating into the slave-trade. It is a project which will require closely watching; and that it should have been ever entertained must surprise all who remember that in July last both Houses passed resolutions for an humble address to Her Majesty against any attempt to obtain Africans from the coast, under any pretext, and for any purpose whatsoever.

THE REVIVAL IN AMERICA.

A SINGULAR phenomenon is, at this moment, developing itself in the United States. It is not the first of its kind, and the movement has been designated as a "Revival." It means that a large number of the people, apparently aroused to a sense of their moral responsibilities, under some mysterious influence, have flocked to the places of public worship, and there, making a profession of faith, have been received into the bosom of the several churches as contrite sinners. Far from us be it to cast ridicule upon so interesting an incident, or to question the sincerity of the converts. Examples are not wanting in ancient history of a nation's prostrating itself in abject penitence at the foot of Divine Mercy and supplicating forgiveness. It is quite possible that the spectacle we are alluding to, as now presenting itself in America, may arise from the same mysterious operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the people, prompting them to self-humiliation and repentance. But if history teaches us this, it also teaches us that the Pietists and Convulsionists of their day were moved in a similar manner to make prayer in the market-place; that fanatics in all countries have their periodical manifestations of so-called religious feeling; that in our own country the Puritans had their revivals; and that in all these instances, as well as in numerous others we might mention, the force of example has played a conspicuous part in the movement. The revival which led to the establishment of Protestantism, however, had its results. We are led to ask ourselves whether the present revival in America is likely to be productive of any radical change. Is it going to awaken the guilty churches to a consciousness of their shortcomings on the question of Slavery? Is it going to influence the members of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, the *American Bible Society*, the *American Tract Society*, and kindred bodies of pro-slavery proclivities, to a sense of duty as regards the

slave? Is it going to extinguish negro-phobia in the North? Is it going to convert reverend Doctors of Divinity and pastors into staunch abolitionists? Is "Immediate Emancipation" to become the watch-word of all these, through this great revival; or are we to have merely what is styled a revival without a reformation?

This is the anxiety that distracts our minds, and it is not relieved by the evidence which has reached us of the probable results of this extraordinary movement. Sad are we to record that the great iniquity stands grinning and mouthing, in the full pride of its foulness, at the hypocrisy which rebukes it not, and that no anti-slavery Luther has yet arisen to denounce the Southern Babylonian woman in scarlet, and cry shame on the church that crouches at her feet, steeped in abomination. What are thoughtful men to infer from this fact?

Pertinent to this subject we append a remarkable article from the pen of Harriet Beecher Stowe, which was published in a recent Number of the *New-York Independent*. The shaft goes home. Let our readers ponder her words.

THE REVIVAL.

"The great turning of the public mind to religion forms so marked an event in our present times, that even secular papers are noticing it. For the most part, too, their notices are not scoffing or disrespectful, but tentative, serious, and suggestive. They seem to say, 'There is need enough among us of a revival of religion, heaven knows! Pray God only that it be *real*, and of the right kind.'

"They say, 'We hope it will do some good to men in a political and business capacity; that it will make them honest, and true, and upright, and magnanimous.' 'No revival has ever done any thing for Wall-street yet,' says one, 'we hope *this* may.' 'We hope,' says another, 'that prayer for the slave may not be considered an intrusion in these frequent prayer-meetings, and that some penitence may be felt and expressed for the share which Northern churches have had in aiding and abetting a system of robbery and oppression.' So speaks the outside world as she looks gravely, sadly, not scoffingly, on the spectacle of thronging churches and opening prayer-meetings; and her demand is just.

"There is something in a right name. The term 'revival' seems, by general consent, to have been adopted into our language as expressive of these seasons; but we should much prefer a term formerly much employed among certain religious denominations—'reformation.' Instead of the *great revival of 1858*, we should be happy to read the *great reformation of 1858*.

"Many worldly people, and some very Christian people, have a prejudice against any thing like periodicity in religious impulse. They dislike revivals. Why should the Divine One, who is always Love, say they, be considered as operating impulsively and periodically on the human soul, sometimes shining and sometimes withdrawing? It is urged, furthermore, that the ex-

pectation of such seasons becomes in the end a motive for sloth and inaction, and a neglect of an even and constant culture of the religious nature.

"All this may have some truth in it; but nevertheless it is a fact that religious impulses, like all impulses, have already come over the world in waves. To begin with the day of Pentecost, in which three thousand were converted in one day, we find all along the line of the history of the church, that there were seasons when religious impulses were more than usually fervent, and religious labours successful.

"There were revivals under the preaching of Augustine and Chrysostom; and the great force of the Reformation was not merely political or intellectual, but it was the deep upheaving of the religious element, bringing all other reforms in its train. *The reformation was a revival of religion.* The revivals in England under the Wesleys and Whitfield inaugurated a new era there, which is felt to-day in the power of the dissenting element, and the improved state of things in the Established Church. The preaching of the Wesleys, the Fletchers, and of Whitfield, to the colliers and cottars of England, was the first movement for the general religious instruction of the masses, and led the way to the multiplied labours of that kind with which England now abounds. It is a noticeable fact in all these cases, that they were followed by the political and moral reforms: the work proved itself divine by its beneficent results. This is a fair test. 'He that is of God, doeth the works of God,' and by this test should every so-called revival be judged. Revivals which make men better, and bless society, have been and may be realities. But the rule is, without exception, that every truly valuable thing has its counterfeit. When we read of great revivals, where the Christian converts claim, as a sacred right, the privilege of selling the members of Christ for money; where they defend the breaking of the marriage covenant at the will of the master, and take away from the coloured member the right of testimony, and are so lost to all moral sense as to see no harm in any of these things, we hold that the revival has been spurious and counterfeit. So also as to Northern churches, which, for reasons of expediency, and to carry ends of ecclesiastical politics, have refused to testify against these sins, we hold that a revival of religion that brings no repentance and reformation is false and spurious.

"We believe in no raptures, in no ecstasies, in no experiences, that do not bring the soul into communion with Him who declared He came to set at liberty them that are bound and bruised. Revivals of religion have not been confined to Christian countries. Old heathenism had them. Popish Rome has them. Modern heathenism has them. One and all of these have had their turns of unusual fervour in their way. One and all have had their trances, illuminations, and mysterious ecstasies. But those only are Christian revivals which make men like Christ; or, if they do not make them like Him, at least set them on the road of trying to be like Him.

"We say, therefore, to our friends, that the period of a great religious impulse has come; that there will be revivals all over the land, either false or true—either of a Christian or a heathen type; and by their fruits ye shall know them.

We are glad to hear that some of the most effective revival preachers confine their attention very much to preaching to the church. We are glad to hear that. It is quite necessary that those who profess to be the exponents of religion before the community, should have some deeper and higher ideas of what religion is. So that when they go forth with the apostolic message, 'Repent, and be converted, every one of you,' they need not be met with the scornful reply, 'Converted, Sir! converted to what? Converted into a man who defends Slavery—converted into one who dares not testify against a profitable wickedness—converted into a man whose religion never goes into his counting-house—converted into a man who has no conscience in his politics, and who scoffs at the higher law of God? No, Sir; I desire no such conversion. Whatever your raptures may be, I desire no part with them.'

"And let the solemn question go out to every Christian, to every parent, 'Do you want your neighbours, friends, and children converted into such Christians as you have been? If not, is there not a deeper conversion necessary for you?'"

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

Most of our readers will be familiar with the name of Judge Loring. He it was who surrendered the fugitive Burns into the hands of the Southern slave-hunters, and converted Boston into an unsafe asylum for the wretched victims fleeing from the house of bondage. But Massachusetts has asserted her dignity and power, and washed the stain from her hands. Judge Loring has been dismissed from the bench he polluted with his presence, and Burns is nobly avenged. His removal has been the direct consequence of numerous petitions which have been addressed to the House of Representatives, and to the Senate, and these were the result of the anti-slavery sentiment of the people which had been so grievously outraged by Judge Loring's act. The *Liberator* of March the 5th says:

"When the petitions for the removal of Judge Loring were first presented to the House of Representatives, they were promptly referred to a Special Committee for joint action on the part of the Senate. For six weeks after this, for some mysterious reason, the Senate neglected to make any reference of the petitions, thus preventing their consideration until a few days since. On Tuesday forenoon, the 2d, the Joint Special Committee gave a hearing to the petitioners, *pro* and *con* in the Representatives' Hall. No one appeared on behalf of Judge Loring, but a brief communication was received from him by the Committee, acknowledging that he is violating the law of the State, because he regards the law as unconstitutional.

* * * * *

"The grounds on which the removal of Judge Loring is demanded are various, in the public mind, but in the petitions they are narrowed to one single specification, because that admits of no evasion, and relates to the sovereignty of the

State, and to the enforcement of its laws. It is as follows:

"That by a law passed May 21st, 1855, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, it was declared—

"No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the Acts of Congress named in the 6th section of this Act, or to serve the same, shall, at the same time, hold any office of honour, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth."

"That in open defiance of this law, and of the voice of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed (without distinction of party) by the action of two separate Legislatures for his removal, but twice rendered inoperative by Executive non-concurrence, Edward Greeley Loring, while acting as a Commissioner of the United States, continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk; thus setting an example of contumacy unbecoming a good citizen, and wantonly disregarding the moral convictions of the people of this State as pertaining to the enforcement of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill.

"They therefore earnestly pray the General Court again to recommend to the Governor and Council the removal of said Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate; and thus enforce a wholesome law of the Commonwealth, which it is his declared purpose to disregard, and thereby vindicate the sovereignty of the people of this Commonwealth."

"The law here referred to was passed by the Legislature in connection with the Personal Liberty Bill, (a Bill, the adoption of which was hailed with exultation by the friends of freedom throughout the North, and which has given intense dissatisfaction to the 'lords of the lash,' at the South,) in consequence of the deep moral repugnance of the people of this Commonwealth to the odious Fugitive Slave Law, which they regard as equally inhuman and unconstitutional; and also on account of the summary manner in which Judge Loring, as United States' Commissioner, remanded Anthony Burns back to chains and bondage, against law and against evidence, to his own disgrace, and to the shame and sorrow of Massachusetts; thereby fearfully endangering the public peace, and bringing this great community to the verge of bloody violence and horrid massacre. While the law forbids no citizen from filling the office of Slave Commissioner who chooses to act in that capacity, it expressly declares that no person holding any office of honour, trust or emolument, under the laws of this Commonwealth, shall at the same time be a Commissioner of the United States to carry into execution the Fugitive Slave Law."

As Judge Loring violated this law, persistently, and thereby openly defied the State, and as the issue raised was specific, Governor Banks gave a sentence upon the abstract merits of the case, which consigns Judge Loring, not simply to private life, but to ignominious obscurity.

Who shall say, after this, that the anti-slavery cause is not making progress in the

United States? Most assuredly the removal of Judge Loring is a great triumph of the public opinion of Massachusetts, and it is due entirely to the efforts of the State anti-slavery party, headed by the *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

Rebieto.

UNDER the title of *The Present and Future of India under British Rule*, the Rev. Henry Richard has written a pamphlet, which deserves a wide circulation, and which we recommend to the perusal of all who are anxious to obtain a knowledge of the actual condition of India, and to be guided to a just conclusion respecting our future policy in that country. Although the writer sets forth, in his modest introduction, that his pamphlet is only a compilation from other works on India, those who read it will come to the conclusion that the portion of it which treats of "Our future policy in India," possesses much original matter, and lays down principles which must commend themselves to every right-minded man, and ought to be adopted as the basis of our future government of that country. He has had the moral courage to denounce the policy of aggression and annexation which has led to the recent disasters, and to recommend our Statesmen to found their new Indian policy on principles of justice. In few words, "no more conquest and annexation; no more government by the sword; the just treatment of the natives; and the fair adjustment of the religious question," embrace the fundamental points of reform he advocates, and these must, sooner or later, be adopted, if that enormous peninsula is to be retained as an appanage of the British Crown, and its vast population converted into loyal subjects. By taking his stand boldly upon these principles, the writer has rendered a great service to the cause of humanity. His advice is that of a true patriot, who is more anxious that the honour of his country should rest on its reputation for justice than on the unstable and questionable basis of successful military conquests. If the first part of the pamphlet, which treats exclusively of the treatment of India under British rule, is remarkable for the research it displays, and for the clearness with which the leading events are brought before the reader, the latter portion is still more striking for the originality of the views laid down in it, and for the ability with which they are propounded.

We hope the pamphlet may command an extensive sale.*

Advertisement.

ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.—The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held

* Published by Ward and Co., Paternoster Row, E. C. Price One Shilling.

at Crosby Hall, on Wednesday, the 19th of May next. The Chair will be taken at half-past seven o'clock.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

WE beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following sums since the publication of our last list:

	Donations.	Subscript.
Allen, John, Esq., <i>Liskeard</i> . . .	1	1 0
Atwell, A. G. Esq., <i>Kingsland</i> . . .	1	1 0
Buxton, C., M.P., <i>London</i> . . .	5	5 0
Charleton, Elizabeth, <i>Bristol</i> . . .	1	0 0
Clarke, Thomas, <i>Bridgewater</i> . . .	0	10 0
Clarke, Mr. Councillor, <i>Southampton</i> . . .	0	10 6
Crabbe, J. R., <i>ditto</i> . . .	0	5 0
Cropper, James, <i>Kendal</i> . . .	1	0 0
Ellis, John, <i>Leicester</i> . . .	2 0 0	
Elliott, John, <i>Liskeard</i> . . .	0	10 0
Elliott, Mary, <i>ditto</i> . . .	0	5 0
Executors of Miss Rathmell, <i>Sheffield</i> . . .	90 0 0	
Finlay, J., <i>Sudbury</i> . . .	0	10 0
Fisher, S. Horman, <i>Swansea</i> (3 years) . . .	3 3 0	
Fletcher, Caleb, <i>York</i> . . .	1	0 0
Fowler, Mrs. Lucy, <i>Tottenham</i> . . .	1	0 0
Fox, S., <i>ditto</i> (2 years) . . .	2	0 0
Geach, E., <i>Liskeard</i> . . .	0	5 0
Holmes, W., <i>Alton</i> . . .	0	10 0
Horsnail, W. C., <i>Strood</i> (2 yrs.) . . .	1	0 0
Isaac, J. C., <i>Liskeard</i> . . .	0	5 0
Jessup, J., <i>Sudbury</i> . . .	0	10 0
Liustant, Baron de Pradine, <i>Haiti</i> . . .	1	1 0
<i>Liskeard Ladies' Society</i> . . .	3	3 0
Marett, C., <i>Southampton</i> . . .	0	5 0
Newman, W. H., <i>ditto</i> . . .	0	5 0
Palk, Mr., Alderman, <i>do.</i> . . .	0	10 6
Pease, E., <i>Darlington</i> . . .	5 0 0	
Peek, Richard, <i>Kingsbridge</i> . . .	1	1 0
Randall, E. M., <i>Southampton</i> . . .	0	5 0
Ransom, R., <i>Ipswich</i> (2 yrs.) . . .	2	2 0
Rees, J., <i>Neath</i> (2 years) . . .	1	0 0
Rickman, J., <i>Wellingham</i> . . .	5 0 0	
Rowntree, J., <i>York</i> . . .	1	1 0
Shewell, J. T., <i>Rushmere</i> (2 years) . . .	2 0 0	
Sims, W. D., <i>Ipswich</i> (2 yrs.) . . .	2	2 0
Spence, J., <i>York</i> . . .	1	1 0
Stuart, Capt. C., <i>Canada</i> . . .	1	0 0
Thompson, F. J., <i>Bridgewater</i> . . .	0	10 0
Thompson, Mrs. A., <i>ditto</i> . . .	0	10 0
Thornton, C. G., <i>London</i> . . .	5 5 0	
Wheeler, F., <i>Strood</i> . . .	0 8 6	2 0 0
Williams, Dr. <i>York</i> . . .	1	1 0

ERRATA.

In the March Number of the *Reporter*, in the List of Donations and Subscriptions, for "Collection in Box, *Exeter*, 10l.," read "10s."